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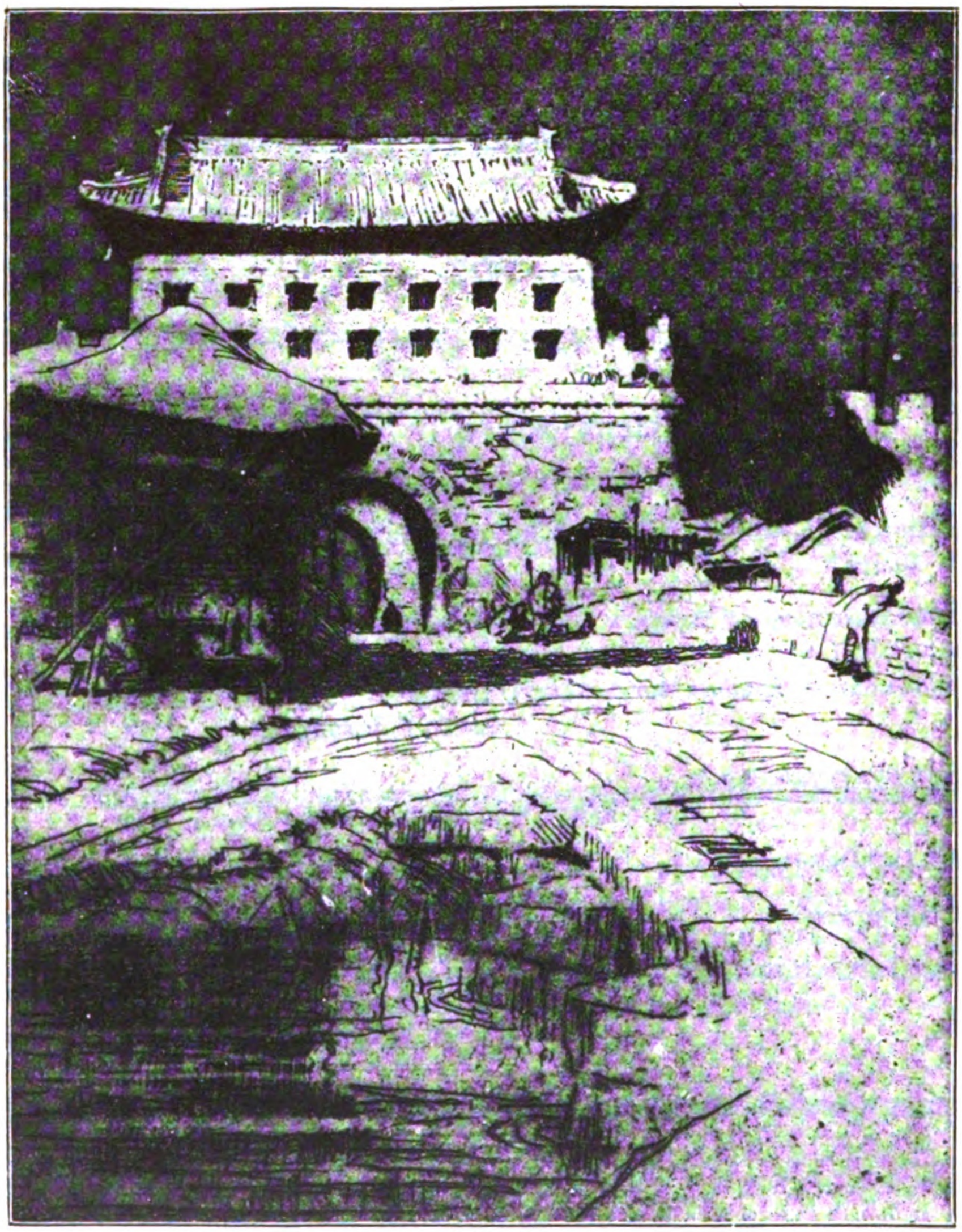

SOUTH-WEST GATE, PEKING

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THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF CHINKIANG OR A BIT OF "CONSULAR BLUFF"

BY

W. J. CLENNELL, one of H.B.M.'s Consuls in China.

(*Continued from p. 232*)

(7) *CHINKIANG in the days of the Mongol Dominion.*

It was the policy of the Mongol-Yüan Dynasty, after the conquest of China, to disarm the natives and to entrust the government of the conquered provinces to foreigners, of whom a large and varied assortment, of many races and religions, followed in their wake. This was the fate both of Yangchou and Chinkiang.

Yangchou was placed for three years under the rule of Marco Polo the Venetian, who had ingratiated himself with Kublai, not only by useful advice about mangonels as already mentioned, but by fearless exposure of the true causes of the assassination of Kublai's Finance Minister, Achmet (Ahmad), at Peking in 1281 and by preparing valuable and interesting reports on several south-western regions whither he had been sent as an envoy. What effect the Venetian rule had upon Yangchou at the time does not appear, but it is worth noting that in the next generation Friar Odoric mentions, somewhere about 1324, that there were a Franciscan Monastery and three Nestorian Churches in Yangchou in his time and a pamphlet by Pelliot (Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient,—1914) mentions that Pelliot discovered an

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edict of 1317 relating to one of the latter, which had been founded about the end of the thirteenth century by a rich merchant named Abraham.

As to Chinkiang the available information is, all things considered, extraordinarily full and precise. The officer put in charge of Chinkiang was a Nestorian Christian (*yeh-li-k'o-wen*, sc. the Chinese transcription of a word "ärkägün" of rather disputed origin, used in those days to designate the Christian peoples of Central Asia) named Mar Sargis, of a Samarkand family.

This fact is mentioned by Marco Polo, who describes Chinkiang, in his usual formula, as a city of the Manzi, with idol atrous people, subject to the Great Kaan, using paper money, living by merchandise and arts, with plenty of silk, making many kinds of cloth of silk and gold, among them being rich merchants enjoying plenty of hunting of beasts and birds and plenty of corn and victuals. Then he adds that two churches of Nestorian Christians were built there in the year 1278 by one of the Great Kaan's barons, Mar Sargis, who had been put there as governor and who ruled in Chinkiang for three years and that before that time there had been no Christian church in the place.

This little notice is curiously confirmed and amplified by the particulars given in the Topographical work of 1333, whose rescue from oblivion by Yüan Yüan I have already described. The whole evidence, with Chinese texts and plentiful notes, is set forth in the pamphlet "Christians at Chênchiang Fu," by A. C. Moule and Lionel Giles, 1915, but it is so extremely interesting that I am sure these gentlemen will excuse me if I venture to abstract it here.

The Archimandrite Palladius, having got on the track of some of this matter, published an abstract of it in Russian in 1873, and then in English in the Chinese Recorder of 1875, and Father Havret, S.J., printed the more important Chinese texts in Variétés Sinologiques, No. 12, (1897). But it is Messrs. Moule and Giles' brochure that shows the extraordinary fulness of the details that have come down to us across the intervening six centuries about these affairs.

Mar Sargis,—called in the Chinese records Ma Hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ, with other variants,—was, it appears, a disciple of a certain Mar Elijah of Samarkand, at which place was one of twelve "Monasteries of the Cross," remarkable for a chapel containing four pillars, forty feet high, each made of an enormous tree-trunk, of which pillars one hung in mid-air more than a foot from the floor. (This tale, and a legend to account for the miracle, will also be found in Marco Polo's notice of Samarkand). Here

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follows a short explanation of the Religion of the Cross, to the effect that it is not the same as the Indian Religion of Nirvana, that its votaries worship towards the east, for which practice a somewhat mystic reason is alleged, that the "figure of ten" is an image of the human body, which they set up in their houses, paint in their churches and wear on their heads and breasts. The grandfather of Mar Sargis, named George (I omit the Chinese transcription), his father, Mieh-li, and his maternal grandfather, Chepi, were court physicians. When Genghis conquered Samarkand (summer of 1220, spring of 1221) the crown prince fell ill. The above Chepi administered sherbet to him and the Ma-li-ha-hsi-ya (? Bishop Ma-li, *hasia* being saint, or bishop, in Syriac) and novices prayed, whereon the prince recovered. So Chepi was appointed Imperial Sherbet Maker and Tarkhan of the Samarkand Christians.

In 1268 Kublai ordered Mar Sargis to come post-haste to present sherbet and rewarded him liberally. Here follows an account of the manufacture of sherbet. As he had inherited his ancestors' skill in preparing this drink, Kublai bestowed a gold tablet on him, granting him the exclusive right to the office of Shê-li-pa-ch'ih, sc. "Sherbeter," to the Court. In 1272 he went to Yunnan, and in 1275 to Fukien and Chekiang, in each case to make sherbet.

In 1277 he was appointed assistant *ta-lu-hua-chih* (Mongol, *darugha*, "governor"), of Chinkiang Prefecture, with a Tiger Badge and a title of rank. "Though raised to splendor and prominence, he did not cease to be a faithful adherent of his religion and constantly had plans for the propagation of the faith. One night, in a dream, he saw the seven-fold gates of Heaven thrown open and two angels addressed him, saying: 'You must erect seven monasteries' (? churches) and presented him with some white thing as a token. On awaking he felt himself inspired and forthwith resigned office and devoted himself to building monasteries."

This would seem to refer to a resignation of the office of darugha, for he evidently remained assistant darugha for several years longer.

First, at the T'ieh-Wêng ("Iron Pot," see above, in the account of Sun Ch'uan's reign) Gate, he gave up his own house and built the Pa-shih or Ta-hsing-kuo Monastery in Chia Tao lane (1281), from the commemorative inscription on which monastery, written by one Liang Hsiang of Hangchou, who became Director of Classical Studies in Chinkiang in 1299, the particulars in the 1333 Topography are copied. Next he obtained the

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Shu-tu Hill at Hsi Ching (sc. Western Ford ; this must mean the present British Consulate hill) and built there the Ta-shih or Yün Shan and the Tu-ta-wu-êrh or Chü-ming Shan Monasteries. (Evidently, both of these were on the ridge of hills running inland from the British Consulate towards "Hillcrest"). Below these two monasteries he founded a free cemetery for Christians. (Where ? Can it have been where the present Foreign Cemetery belonging to the British Municipal Council is now ?). At K'ai Sha (some sandbank or recently accreted land along the Yangtze) in Tant'u Hsien he built the Ta-lei or Ssŭ-tu-an Monastery. On Huang Shan (Moule and Giles seem to be at a loss to locate Huang Shan, but to us, who know Starkey's and Rasmussen's Bungalows, the identification is not difficult) outside the Teng-yün Gate, he built the Ti-lien-hai-ya or Kao-an Monastery. Near the Ta-hsing-kuo Monastery (i.e., the one on the site of his house) he also built the Ma-li-chieh-wa-li-chi-ssŭ, or Kan Ch'üan Monastery.

Besides these six foundations in or near Chinkiang (six, not two, as one would gather from Marco Polo), Mar Sargis also built the Yang-i, or Ta-p'u-hsing Monastery at the Chien-ch'iao Gate in Hangchou.

These seven monasteries were, says Liang Hsiang, the genuine result of Mar Sargis' zeal. He showed loyalty to his prince and devotion to the empire, not seeking to become conspicuous himself, but only making his monasteries so. Wan Tsê, one of the high ministers in the Capital, presented a memorial on the subject, and, in reply, was favoured with a letter under the Imperial Seal promising protection. An immediate grant of thirty *ch'ing* of government arable land (say, 510 acres) in Kiangnan and thirty-four *ch'ing* (578 acres) of privately-owned arable land in western Chekiang was made, and the land purchased for the perpetual endowment and maintenance of the seven monasteries. Mar Sargis held office in Chinkiang for five years.

A later passage in the Topography states that Mar Sargis arrived as darugha on 18th February, 1278, that on the 20th August he was granted a gold tablet and made assistant darugha and subsequently made his home in Chinkiang and that he built seven monasteries. Every year he paid tribute in sherbet, forty jars, which he made of grapes, quinces, oranges, etc. He was granted boats and horses to send it up to court as tribute. In raising all this masons' and carpenters' labour, he did not oppress the common people and those who took monastic vows were all *yeh-li-k'o-wen* (This, it is suggested, means that they were all non-Chinese Christians). He sent ceremoniously to invite

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the Ma-li-ha-hsia,—Ma-êrh-shih-li-Ho-pi-ssŭ-ko-pu (Whatever the rest of this rigmarole means, the last five syllables are plainly "episcopus") to expound the secrets of the religion and formally deposit the scriptures,—i.e., doubtless he asked the Bishop of Samarkand to come and consecrate the Churches, —and then the seven monasteries were all complete. Moreover, he enjoined his sons and grandsons to maintain them through the ages to come. As to sherbet-making, it was a hereditary business, to be carefully fostered and not allowed to decay.

Another "monastery," called Ta Kuang Ming Ssü, south of the Tanyang Kuan hostelry, was built by one An Ma-chi-ssŭ in 1295. There is nothing to say that this person was a Christian, but the name of the building suggests that it might be either Christian or Manichaean.

Another Christian church, the Ta-fa-hsing monastery, on the Fu T'ien Hill, outside the Tung Wu Gate, is mentioned as existing in 1333, but there is no mention of when or by whom it was founded. It is the only certainly Christian establishment there recorded other than Mar Sargis' foundations.

Such seems to have been the position of Christianity in Chinkiang in the days of Kublai. There is nothing to connect the effort with the far earlier Nestorian missions of T'ang times, which can hardly have penetrated so far south and east, and, anyway, had evaporated or become merged in Buddhism in those parts of China which they did reach. Rather it was the effect of the flood of strangers of all kinds and nations who were wafted hither and thither across Asia by the Mongol whirlwind. But it is none the less an interesting and most curious episode.

The great Kublai died in 1295. Even before he died, the foreigners in China in his service, being apprehensive of what might follow his death, had begun to find excuses to clear out. The Polos left in 1292, coming down, very likely, this way on their journey to Zayton,—Ch'uanchou,—their port of shipment for Persia.

As the Chinese began to recover from the stunning blow of the conquest, the cosmopolitan features of the Mongol *régime* weakened and old national traditions came to the fore again. Kublai's successor, Timur Olchaitu (1295-1307) studied and favoured Confucian literature, but earthquakes, floods and comets were popularly regarded as omens of Heaven's displeasure at "barbarian" rule over the "cultured people." The next emperor, Kaisun (1308 1312), had much trouble to get his paper money taken at face value, or anything near it.

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Under his reign, in 1309, the monk Ying Shên took charge of Golden Island at Chinkiang by command of the Emperor, and was granted, with Golden Island, the two convents which Mar Sargis had "taken possession of" (surely, he founded them ?), east and west of Yin Shan. (Yin Shan, modern Yin T'ai Shan, is the hill on which the British Consulate stands) and the convents refer to the Yün Shan and Chü-ming Shan Monasteries). Then an Imperial Commissioner was sent to restore the great Shui Lu Congress, according to the custom of the Liang Dynasty.

Under Kaisun's successor, Ayuli Palpata (1312-1321) the Congress was accordingly revived in two successive years and a commemorative inscription, composed by the same monk Ying Shên, was written out by Chao Mêng-fu (1254-1322), a scion of the old Sung imperial family and reckoned the foremost artist of the time. The Congresses, for which a generous allowance of money was allotted by the emperor, lasted seven days and seven nights each. (Edicts of March 7, 1314, and September 9, 1315).

In the third year of Chih Chih,—the nien-hao of Emperor Kolpola (1321-1324), there was a third Congress (August 10 to 17, 1323) in the "Ancient Temple of Chin Shan."

The great Buddhist sanctuary of Golden Island being thus restored to prominence and imperial patronage, it was perhaps only natural that its inmates should seek to suppress some of Mar Sargis' establishments. So, in 1311, we find that the Yün Shan and Chü-min Shan Monasteries were changed into a Buddhist convent called Po-jo Yüan, on the top of Shu-tu Hill, dependent on Chin Shan.

The same famous artist, Chao Mêng-fu, already mentioned,—whose spirited pictures of Tartar horsemen will be remembered by lovers of old Chinese art,—composed an inscription for a commemorative stone tablet. This inscription records how, in 1311, a certain judge and counsellor were sent post-haste to inform the Provincial Government that the Christians had taken on themselves to build Monasteries of the Cross on lands belonging to Chin Shan, and to beg that the crosses be torn down and destroyed. The artist Liu Kao, who formerly did the painting and modelling for the Pai Ta Monastery, was ordered to paint Buddhas, P'usas, etc., on the walls of the chapels and rooms, the officials preparing and supplying all that he should need, so that the monasteries might revert to Chin Shan. Another edict forbade the Christians, under severe penalties, to question these proceedings and in the eleventh moon, the Minister Hai Yin-tu, received a special commission from the Emperor directing that

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now that the images had been destroyed and torn down in the monasteries of the Cross, built by the heretic Christians relying on their strength, new images of Buddha should be made, the walls painted again and the places be regarded as forever dependent on Chin Shan. And Chao Mêng-fu, "His Majesty's servant, devoid of eloquence," having respectfully saluted and prostrated himself, goes on to repeat the history of the Monastery of Golden Island from the Ssŭ-ma Chin times to Liang times, down the ages, asserting that Sung Chên Tsung had, between the years 1008 and 1017, granted arable and hill land at Hsi Ching,—West Ford,—for its support, but that in 1279 the heretic Mar Sargis had built two monasteries of the cross on this very land, seizing the property of Golden Island. (There is some muddle about dates here, both those of the building of the churches, those of Mar Sargis' term of office, and those of the reversion of the sites to the Buddhists;—but, whether after twenty-seven or after thirty-two years of Christian use, it is plain that the two places, Yün Shan and Chü-ming Shan, were both confiscated in 1309 to 1311).

Then follows an exultant rhapsody of an ode, called an inscription, by one P'an Ang-hsiao, celebrating the glories and beauties of Chin Shan, and relating how the Christian Mar Sargis "rendered exceedingly arrogant by his successive terms of office," selected the most beautiful site on the precipitous cliff and put up on the summit a temple for his foreign religion, and laid out the waste land as a burying place for those of his sect. "Alas, the sects of the West are ninety-six in number, but our Buddhism alone is the true religion. In view of the truth of our religion, can a false or foreign faith be tolerated?"

So the present Emperor had ordered the old images to be cast out and Indian figures from the temples in the capital to be copied in vermilion and gold and purple and blue, all new and bright, and the buildings to be handed over, so that the whole district might raise its voice with one accord, to celebrate this return to the True Faith, and that an inscription, engraved on hard serpentine, should make this known forever.

It is implied, though not definitely stated, that at the time of the compilation of the 1333 Topography, the other Christian churches were still in existence.

Other evidence as to Christians in Chinkiang in Mongol times may be culled from lists of officials and census returns of that age. A Christian named Kuɔ-li-chi-ssŭ held office as *darugha* from August, 1308, to January, 1313,—just at the time of the confiscation above described. Another, T'ai Ping, was in office

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from January, 1313, till November, 1316, and the gentry and people set up a monument beside the Tanyang Kuan hostelry to express their regret at his departure. Of fifteen *darughas* mentioned as ruling since the Mongol conquest, nine are described as Uighurs, three as Moslems, two as Christians, one as a Kankali, none as Chinese. In 1296 a Christian, Ma Aolahan (Mar Abraham ?) was district magistrate of Tant'u Hsien and in 1329 another, Wo Lo-ssŭ (? "The Russian"). Several others are named in subordinate posts.

The census returns given in this old Topography point to a fairly large population,—something like one-third of the present numbers. It is to be remembered that, in thē reign of Kublai, probably in 1289, the Canal connections, partly in existence long before, were linked up all the way from Hangchou to Peking, and that, though there was another entrance to the Yangtze at Ts'in Shih Huang-ti's old prison-camp of Tant'u Chên,—the main communication from the southern branch of the Canal to the Great River was by this time that which passed the walls of Chinkiang. The importance accruing to Chinkiang as the junction of Canal and River trade is obvious.

We are told that the oldest name of Chinkiang was Jun,—another old name being Ching K'ou (see above, under date A.D. 403). Till after the end of the T'ang dynasty its inhabitants were few in number, but by the Chia Ting period (nien-hao of Sung Ning Tsung, for the years 1208-1224) it had much increased. After the unification of the Empire under the Mongols, the prefecture filled up its old territory and enclosed new and as there was no more fighting nor interruption of trade, a census of 1290 had been about equal to that of the Chia Ting period. In August 1301 a great storm washed away the sandbanks. (Perhaps some present frequenters of the port wish this might happen again !) In 1307 and 1329 there were visitations of plague.

Then come the census figures, apparently for the year 1331, divided under six headings,—natives, settlers, sojourners (?), paupers, Buddhists and Taoists. The total seems to work out at 114,218 families,—for the entire prefecture, including Tant'u, Tanyang, and Chint'an Hsiens,—say, about 650,000 individuals. Of these, 174 families, or 2,421 individuals, are classed as foreigners. In Chinkiang city there were 15,758 families, or 69,325 people. There were 106 Christians living in families of whom 92 were in Chinkiang, 7 elsewhere in Tant'u Hsien and 7 in Chint'an Hsien, besides 109 "solitary individuals" (Christian monks, probably), of whom 102 in Chinkiang city and 7 in Chint'an Hsien. Mongols, Uighurs, Moslems, Tanguts, Cathayans, Nüchên and

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Han-jên (Chinese) are similarly enumerated, the last vastly outnumbering all the rest.

The monks at Hai Ch'ao Ssŭ, the Temple near the Railway siding at Hsiao Mat'ou, told me that their temple is a foundation of the Yüan Mongol dynasty and they have tablets with the names of head priests from that time down, but I left the place with the impression that the earlier names might refer to some parent monastery, not necessarily on the same site. The point might be worth clearing up.

The date of the Topography, 1333, is the first year of the last Mongol sovereign of China, Timur Tohan. The remaining years of the Yüan were few and evil. Floods, famines, plague, rebellion, with reports of many miracles and portents, rain of blood, rain of yak's tails, etc., fed the rising tide of Chinese discontent, while a prophesy that the Buddhist Messiah, Mi-lo Fo (Maitreya Buddha) was about to be incarnated upon earth, afforded a rallying flag for every malcontent. Disturbances multiplied year by year and everywhere the Buddhist priesthood led these movements.

In 1336 an old regulation was renewed, ordering the Chinese to be disarmed. In 1337 a rumour was circulated that the Mongols were about to put to death everybody of the surnames Li (probably the commonest of all Chinese surnames, besides being that of the T'ang dynastic family), Liu (the Han imperial surname), Chao (the Sung), Chang (that of the Taoist Pope), and Wang (because Wang means a King). In 1344 the sale of offices was resorted to as a means of raising famine relief funds. A famous artist, Ni Tsan, of Wuhsi, between Ch'angchou and Soochow, distributed his wealth and art collections among his relatives and wandered about the rivers and lakes of Kiangsu, prophesying the downfall of the Yüan. The public examinations were suspended from 1340 on and the money saved diverted to the support of the Imperial guards.

In 1348 Fang Kuo-chên rebelled in Chiang-chê (the Mongol province including southern Kiangsu, Chekiang, Fukien and parts of Anhui), and set up an independent state called Ch'ing Yüan.

In 1350 trade was paralysed by over-issue of paper money and the people reduced to a system of barter. In the same year there was a breach of the Yellow River; immense levies of workmen were raised to repair the dykes, but the only effect was further exasperation of the people.

In 1351 Liu Fu-tung, a wizard of Yingchou in Anhui, revolted in Kiangsu and defeated a brother of the great Mongol general, Toto. But in 1352 Toto captured his stronghold of Hsüchou by

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the use of powerful mangonels. He had a hundred thousand followers who wore red handkerchiefs as their badge. Though beaten in 1352, he set up Han Lin-êrh in 1353 as Emperor of Sung and his power lasted till, in 1358, he captured P'ienliang (K'ai-feng).

In 1353 a salt dealer of T'aichou, Kiangsu, named Chang Shih-ch'êng, proclaimed himself King of Wu. Though he failed, 1354, in an attempt to capture Yangchou, Hangchou and Soochow surrendered to him in 1356. But either this measure of success satisfied him, or he feared the result of a contest with other rebel leaders, for, though in fact independent, he chose this moment to return to the Mongol allegiance.

Hsü Shou-hui, a Hupei man, was chief of a band formed in Kiangsi to prepare for the coming of the Buddhist Messiah. He, too, declared himself an Emperor and though failing in an attack on Anch'ing, reigned for some years with Hanyang as his capital. Then the governor of Foochow, Ch'ên Yu-ting, declared himself independent.

But the chief row began in Anhui, where Kuo Tzŭ-hsing had declared himself a supporter of the "Sung" Emperor Han Lin-êrh. During this disturbance a monastery near Fêngyang, called Huang Hsueh Ssŭ,—the Temple of Imperial Studies,—was burnt. In this monastery there dwelt an orphan novice, Chu Yüan-chang, left there by obscure parents when an elder brother had died of hunger during one of the famines of that time and employed as a temple coolie by the monks. This youth joined Kuo Tzŭ-hsing's band and in due course married an adopted daughter, or slave girl, of that chieftain, who proved a wise, studious, tender and devoted wife, under whose guidance Chu Yüan-chang developed into a great leader of men. In 1354, on Kuo Tzŭ-hsing's death, Chu Yüan-chang succeeded him as head of the whole movement.

He waged many contests with other rebel bands, as well as with the Mongol authorities and the story needs a deal of sifting to be made intelligible. But in 1357, when Chu Yüan-chang crossed the Yangtze, he was hailed everywhere as a deliverer. His lieutenant, Ch'ên Yu-liang, captured Anch'ing, which had held out heroically through a four years' siege.

Finding that Chang Shih-ch'êng,—the T'aichou rebel,—to whom Hangchou and Soochow had fallen, had returned to the Mongol allegiance, Chu Yüan-chang declared war upon him, seized Nanking and in 1358, as leader of a vast horde of insurgents, proclaimed himself Duke of Wu.

In 1360 Ch'ên Yu-liang, the taker of Anch'ing, started on his own account, murdered Hsü Shou-hui, the Hanyang Emperor

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and proclaimed the Han Empire ruling most of Hupei and Kiangsi. Another follower of Hsü Shou-hui, sent to Ssŭch'uan for supplies, on account of famine in Hupei, started a revolt of "Red Turbans" there, which he called the Empire of Hsia and conquered most of the west of China, from Shensi down to Yunnan.

These dissensions among the rebels naturally gave new life to the Mongol cause and some territory was recovered, but in 1363 Chu Yüan-chang defeated Ch'ên Yu-liang in a decisive overthrow, in a naval battle in the Poyang Lake and really settled the whole question. I landed to escape a lake squall, in 1905, at a place on an island or peninsula in the Lake, called Chu Ch'i (sc. Chu Yüan-chang's Flagstaff) and there saw the masonry base that during this victory supported the standard of the conqueror.

Chang Shih-ch'êng fled to Nanking and there committed suicide, Han Lin-êrh was taken prisoner to Nanking and died there in 1367. Other leaders sent in their submission one by one, till, in 1368, Duke Chu Yüan-chang of Wu deemed the time ripe to despatch his general Hsü Ta to Peking, which, after a few fights on the way, he captured with so little pillage that the markets were not even suspended for a single day. The Mongol Emperor Timur Tohan fled into the desert, and the MING dynasty,—already practically in power for ten years in Nanking, was proclaimed in the old capital of Kublai as well as in the south.

(8) *In the days of the MING.*

In some respects, the revolution that ousted the cosmopolitan Mongols from China looks rather like a reversion to a narrow, reactionary nationalism and has led some critics to scold that fourteenth century world for missing an opportunity to effect the unity of mankind. The Mongols, it is suggested, had, at one stage at least, hankered after an understanding with the culture, even with the religion of Europe, but Europe had not risen to the occasion. Practically Europe meant the Christian, mainly the Catholic church, which was distracted by the rival claims of Roman and Avignon popes and anti-popes and in spite of bright exceptions from Francis of Assisi to Thomas-a-Kempis, was passing through the most unspiritual stage of its history. France and England, which allied, might have led the western world, were involved in long dynastic wars and rivalries and no one cared or realized what was happening in the east. The east, which, might have found some use for the Kingdom of God, was as indifferent to the claims of Rome and Avignon as it was ignorant of those of Plantagenets and Valois.

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Also, when all is said, the Mongol rule was a chaos of tribes in a very low stage of political development, barbarous and violent. What wonder that the Chinese, with a long memory of national culture behind them, turned against all foreign ways and sought to restore the ancient time-proven practices of their race ?

Chu Yüan-chang (Emperor Ming T'ai Tsu) reigned under the nien-hao Hung Wu in great splendour at Nanking, till 1399. He expanded the city to more than three times its previous area, building the present walls and the palace whose ruins are familiar to modern tourists. A little to the east of the city, under a gigantic mound of earth and stone, said to have been brought from all the provinces of China and almost worthy to rival the burial-hill of Ts'in Shih Huang-ti itself, approached by a semi-circular avenue of statues and strange stone beasts, he lies at the foot of the Mountain of Purple Gold.

The temple of Ch'i-hua Ssŭ, on the hill behind Huang Shan, to the south-west of Chinkiang, belongs to this reign. It is an offshoot of the far more famous Monastery of the same name in Anhui and like the latter a shrine of that Ti-tsang P'usa, whom the Japanese call Jiso, of whom it is said that he descended into the nether world to assuage the pains of souls in torment and that he is the special friend and lover of little children. There is another shrine of Ti-tsang in Chinkiang, a conspicuous red temple near the bend in the railway line not far from the south-west corner of the city wall and there a large, fallen, stone tablet bears an inscription, with no legible date, but which looks as if it might be very old.

All through the Ming period, Japanese piratical raids form a feature in the history of the coast provinces of China, not least in that of Chinkiang and the Yangtze estuary. In 1374 a Japanese Emperor, whose name is given in Chinese as Liang Hui, promised to put an end to piracy. But he failed to keep his word, and one Wang Chên, sent to Japan with a fleet, captured the whole Japanese navy at the Loo-choo Islands.

In 1387 T'ang Ho was entrusted with the defence of the coast. He established fifty-nine mutually supporting naval stations and enrolled a force of 58,000 men. It was decreed that one in four of the coast population should serve against the Japanese.

Ming T'ai Tsu was succeeded, 1399, by his grandson, Chu Yün-wên (Ming Hui Ti,-nien-hao Chien Wên), but either he was arrogant to his uncles or they were disloyal to him. In his fourth year (1403) he was displaced by his uncle Chu Ti (Ming

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Ch'êng Tsu, famous under the nien-hao Yung Lo) who had already, as Prince of Yen, ruled for thirteen years past in Peking. He reigned till 1425, and was as great a warrior as his contemporary Henry the Fifth of England. He is said, first in his march to the north, then in his march south again, to have swept the whole plain northward of the Yangtze with his besom; the one city that dared resist him was removed, brick by brick, till not a trace of it remained. At Nanking he rebuilt and decorated the famous Porcelain Pagoda—266 feet high—which formed the chief ornament of the city till its destruction by the T'aip'ings. In the courtyard of the Bridge House Hotel in the riverside suburb of Hsiakuan a very fine stone turtle bears on its back a large slab dating from this reign. What happened to the little emperor, his nephew, is variously told; he disappeared, and one tale tells how forty years afterwards, he was discovered in a monastery by the attention attracted to some verses that he had written.

During the Yung Lo reign Peking became again the Capital, as it had been under the Mongols and the chief interest of Chinese history passes to the north, where struggles with this or that Mongol chief or tribe, rebuilding or duplicating of Great Walls, construction of Imperial Mausolea, fortification and embellishment of the metropolis, organization of a field force with artillery, development of the administration, etc., shared with vast literary enterprises the attention of the government. Yet Nanking preserved, all through the Ming era, the paraphernalia of a second Metropolis, with Six Boards, as at Peking, as though it was kept in reserve to afford, if need should arise, a help in time of trouble. It remained a vast city, adorned with its palace and its porcelain-lined pagoda and from it fleets under eunuch commanders, Ch'êng Ho, Wang Ching-hung, Ma Pin and others, set sail down the Yangtze at various dates from 1405 to 1429, to visit Siam, Malacca, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, Persia and perhaps, Zanzibar, returning with presents which they called tribute rendered in acknowledgement of the Ming pretention to the universal sovereignty of the world.

Far beyond the stone walls of Nanking, an immense earth rampart, some fifty to sixty miles in circuit, enclosed all the outer suburbs. The various openings in this rampart may be traced to this day by the occurrence of the word "mên"—gate,—in the names of surrounding villages and localities.

In those days there lived a Mohammedan poet, Ting Ho-nien, whose grandfather had served Kublai. When his native place, Wuch'ang, was taken by the Mings, Ting and his mother fled to Chinkiang (1364), where, by five years' abstention from regular

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food, he won the name of Ting Hsiao Tzũ,—Ting the Dutiful Son. He steadily refused to serve the Ming and his poems, written among the ruins of his old home, are laments of the fallen greatness of the Mongols. But, ere he died in 1424, he had become a pious Buddhist.

In 1417 Japanese raids were renewed, but they were beaten off in 1419, with great loss, and piracy stopped for a long time.

In 1420 a witch, T'ang Sai-êrh, originally a serving maid at an inn, deluded vast multitudes in Shantung by her enchantments and raised a revolt. About the same time, the Peking government being busy with a war against a Tartar chief named Alutai, who claimed to be the heir of the Mongol-Yüan dynasty, Chu Kao-hsü, a son of the Yung Lo Emperor, enrolled three thousand men and created a rebellious disturbance in Nanking. But he was pardoned in 1417 and later rose to be governor of Shantung. There he rebelled again in 1426, was taken prisoner and brought to Peking in chains. The Emperor, Chu Chan-chi (Ming Hsüan Tsung, nien-hao Hsüan-Tê, 1426-1436) went to see him, stumbled over a shackle and upset a caldrom of boiling water, whereby the prisoner was so severely scalded that he died of the injuries.

In this reign the manufacture of brass ware flourished so greatly that you will find quite half the brass pots in China marked to this day with the nien-hao "Ta Ming Hsüan Tê." After all, these words are as easy to cast or engrave in brass as any other in the Chinese language and the attribution need not be taken too seriously as evidence of date.

The next reign, that of a son, or, some say, a supposititous son, of Hsüan Tsung, named Chu Chi-chên, affords the only instance since Mongol times of the use of more than one nien-hao by a single Emperor. He (Ming Ying Tsung) called his reign Chêng T'ung till 1450. Then he was captured by the Oirad (Wala) Mongols, and till 1457 his brother Chu Chi-yü reigned in his stead, as "Substitute Emperor" (Ming Ching Ti, or Tai Tsung, nien-hao Ching T'ai) better than Ying Tsung ever did. But Ying Tsung was ransomed from the enemy and after a while, restored, to reign again under the nien-hao T'ien Shun,—1457 to 1465, and with others, the Prime Minister, Yü Hsien, who had conducted affairs for the substitute emperor, was put to death by th *ling ch'ih* process. At a later date they were revered as patriots only second to the famous Yo Fei and Yü Hsien's memorial temple, at the southern side of the Hangchou West Lake, to-day balances Yo Fei's grave at the northern end.

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The history of Chu Chien-shên (Ming Hsien Tsung, nien-hao Ch'êng Hua, 1465 to 1488), under whom porcelain manufacture flourished and the Manchus were first heard of, is made up of palace intrigues and the misdeeds of various eunuchs and is wholly unedifying. A governor of Shansi, Ho Ch'iao-hsin, who had dealt wisely with a famine there, was transferred in 1487 to Nanking, where he put down the oppressions of the eunuchs. Of another good minister of the time, Wang Shu, it was said that the two Capitals have twelve Boards, but only one Wang Shu.

Chu Yu-t'ang (Ming Hsiao Tsung, nien-hao Hung Chih, 1488 to 1506) came next, reputed the best of the Mings. Under him the law-code "Ta Ming Hui Tien" was prepared and the great Temple of Confucius at Ch'üfou, Shantung, burnt down and restored.

The reign of Chu Hou-chao (Ming Wu Tsung, nien-hao Chêng Tê—1506 to 1522) saw the first serious internal rebellion against the Ming, that of a prince of the blood, Chu Hao, who revolted in Kiangsi. The Emperor wanted him to be left at large in the Poyang Lake till His Majesty should have leisure to come and hunt him in person and the people said that though the rebels combed them with combs and the troops with fine-toothed combs, the officers shaved them with razors. The rebels took Anch'ing and would have come down river to attack Nanking but that the imperial commander forestalled the move by a counter-offensive and marched straight at Nanch'ang, the heart of the trouble (1518), without waiting for the emperor.

Just at this point of time Portuguese navigators appear on the scene; in 1511 Alphonso de Albuquerque took Malacca; in 1515, Raphael Perestrella and in 1519 Fernando Pirez de Andrade landed in China. The intercourse with the west, which the Ming nationalist reaction had combined with militant Turkish Islam to interrupt, was restored by this turning of the Turkish flank, never to be wholly broken off again.

With the reign of Chu Hou-tsung, brother of the last (Ming Shih Tsung, nien-hao Chia Ching, 1522 to 1566), we come upon the oldest gravestones on which I have read legible dates in the vast collection of cemeteries that extend over the little hills south and west from Chinkiang. One such grave, with a stone of some fine white marble, bears a date answering to 1553. But there must be others far older; one, for instance, with remains of stone horses outside the south wall of the city, appears to be the remnant of a very ancient monument, but I found no inscription on it and have not traced its origin.

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And now, after an interval of over a century, we hear again of Japanese raids. Henceforth, in one part or another of the coast, they are of almost yearly occurrence.

One Yü Ta-yu won a victory over the Japanese in 1542. In 1550, however, they raided up the Yangtze again, took T'ungchou (?) and Chinkiang and threatened Nanking. On many of the hills round Chinkiang beacon mounds are still plainly to be seen that date from this period. There is one on "Mount Stronach" a little beyond Mr. Bovyer's school for orphan girls. Another is on the high hill behind Ch'i-hua Ssŭ. Two or more are on high land by the Yangtze, a few miles lower down, at Ta Chiang. There are plenty of others. Indeed, almost every hill top seems to be scarred with trenches and earthworks and mounds, dating, I dare say, from many different periods, but some of them belonging, I suggest, to the days of the Japanese raids.

For three months the Japanese plundered the country round Chinkiang, then retired laden with their booty. In this, or some other raid of the time, they would seem to have met a severe check between Langshan and Nant'ungchou, where, by the roadside, stands a great cairn, said to cover the remains of a vast number of their dead and near it is a statue and memorial to the Chinese general who repulsed them.

In 1562, angered, it is said, by stoppage of trade, they invaded Fukien, taking and sacking Hsinghua and other cities, but the same Yü Ta-yu who had beaten them before repeated his triumphs, by the use of some instrument called a "Tu Lun Ch'ê" (Single Wheeled Chariot ?).

The next short reign, of Chu Tsai-hou (Ming Mu Tsung, nien-hao Lung Ch'ing, 1567-1572), was occupied by a war with a Mongol chief named Anda, and by Yellow River troubles, and I possess no notes of local occurrences.

But there are, round Chinkiang, quite a number of graves with dates in the long and miserable reign of Chu Yi-chien (Ming Shên Tsung, nien-hao Wan-li, 1573 to 1620). Also, as I have already mentioned, there is still legible an inscription over the gateway spanning the road at Kuanyin's Cave recording a restoration of that monument in the 10th year of Wan-li, 1582. This was the year in which the head eunuch, Fêng Pao, who had till then held the emperor under his thumb by telling tales about him to his mother, was banished from court and died at Nanking.

When not kept busy by a Japanese raid, those Ming dynasty Chinese must have lived rather stagnant lives. There were pilgrimages, of course; temples were well patronised; Chin Shan and Chiao Shan were adorned with fine halls and pagodas.

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The tall, stone pagoda whose shell still stands by the canal bank about a mile outside the south gate is a Ming erection. The Bamboo Grove (Chu-lin Ssŭ) was then, as now, a place of resort, and so no doubt, further afield, were Mao Shan and Hua Shan, whither the spring pilgrims flock in such numbers to-day.

A Ming worthy left his jade-studded belt at Chiao Shan, where it is kept by the Abbot in just such a box as that which contains the belt of the Sung poet, Su Tung-po, at Golden Island.

The city walls were rebuilt,—those dating from Nan T'ang times having, it would seem, been pulled down under the Mongols.

Though there was but little increase of population from the Hung Wu to the Wan Li reign, the amount of land under cultivation and the revenue from it had about doubled, when one might infer a fair degree of diffused prosperity.

In 1592 occurred the great Japanese invasion and conquest of Korea, under the reign of the famous Shogun Hideyoshi. The Japanese generals sent home shiploads of human ears, pickled, to make a "hill of ears" at Kobe and prove that, this time, Korea really was conquered. In 1594 China intervened in the struggle, and we hear of victories both by land and sea. The spirit of old Kuan Yü, the third century hero of Shu-Han whom Sun Ch'uan put to death in 219, was credited with having frightened the Japanese out of Korea and consequently he was imperially proclaimed to be a god and has ever since been worshipped as Kuan Ti, the War God, all over China. Otherwise, the net result of this war, which lasted till 1600, was that Korea was laid desolate and has never since recovered its ancient prosperity, that the weakness of China as a fighting power was demonstrated to watchful Manchu neighbours on the north of Korea, that the finances of the Ming Empire were seriously strained and that Japan toppled over towards that revolution,—Hideyoshi having died in 1598,—whereby his dynasty was replaced in 1603 by Ieyasu of the Tokugawa line, who soon shut up the country against all foreign intruders and held sway in feudal seclusion till past the middle of the nineteenth century.

In 1595 the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci, who, with Roggero and others, had been in the south for sixteen years, attempted to settle in Nanking. He was refused admittance, but, after some travelling, came back in 1598 or 1599 and had better luck, for a Mission was established by the Hung Wu gate. Shortly after, he started up the Grand Canal for Peking, and got as far as Linch'ing chou in Shantung, where, some official wiseacre taking him for a Japanese spy, he spent a season in jail, till the peace

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set him free to go on to Peking (1601), to labour there with immense zeal and no small success and die in 1610.

For the seventy years or so that begin with the reign of the Wan Li emperor, the history of China is as tragic a tale as any in human records. Ming Shên Tsung himself was a cypher, though a greedy and grasping cypher, a degenerate never seen but by his eunuchs and harem women, who only once in the thirty-five years from his attainment of majority to his death, received his Ministers in public audience. Strife of parties, offices kept vacant, unrelieved distress in the provinces, iniquitous taxes arbitrarily levied by eunuchs, absurd monopolies and regulations about silver mines, the middle classes ruined, the poor driven by intolerable conditions to brigandage, brigandage breeding famine, famine deepening to cannibalism;—such is the picture met with year after year, mingled with risings of aborigines, Mongol invasions, floods of the Yellow River (1578, 1588, 1592) which there were no funds to deal with, so that a little later, 1624, the town of Hsüchou had to be evacuated because the government was too poor to repair the dykes.

Just one year before "the avaritious monarch left a ruined country to his feeble successors" (Giles), a portent had appeared in the far north-east. Ever since the Japanese-Korean war, storm clouds had been gathering in that quarter, where the little confederation of Nüchên tribes, now known as Manchu, had been gradually shaping themselves into a nation under a chieftain of genius, Nurhachu, and giving trouble along the Liaotung border. In 1619 Nurhachu's capture of Fushun—where the South Manchuria Railway Co's coal-mines are now,—was followed by a series of battles at and round Shahu, to the east of Mukden, in which the Chinese lost fifty thousand men and in a moment, the Manchu trouble, from being a mere frontier disturbance, grew into a contest involving the whole future of eastern Asia.

Chu Ch'ang-lo (Ming Kuang Tsung,-nien-hao T'ai Ch'ang) son of Shên Tsung, reigned but one month of 1620, but is credited, ere he was poisoned, with having tried to start reforms.

His infant son and successor, Chu Yu-ch'iao (Ming Hsi Tsung, nien-hao T'ien Ch'i, 1621 to 1628) was a mere tool in the hands of an unscrupulous nurse and her paramour, the sham eunuch Wei Chung-hsien, the "Lord of Nine Thousand Years" to whom temples were ordered to be erected for his worship as the peer of Confucius. It is useless to detail the tale of their profligate tyranny. The Chinese paid the price.

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Two stones with long inscriptions dating from the T'ien Ch'i reign stand in the village outside the south gate of Chinkiang. And on the road to the Bamboo Grove Temple, a little beyond a very interesting village temple, Chang Kung T'zŭ, with an elaborately carved p'ailou in front and a large theatre attached, there is a little bridge over a stream, with the name Mi Fên Ch'iao. In a neighbouring field are two monuments, of which one is weatherbeaten and all but undecipherable, but the other modern and in good repair, with a record that it marks the resting-place of Mi Nan Kung, poet and local historian of Chinkiang, who died in the fourth year of T'ien Ch'i.

In the same year the Governor of Fukien captured twelve "red haired" Dutchmen at Amoy ;—another portent, some might say another of the vultures that gathered round the dying carcase of the Ming Empire. Portuguese, Spaniards and Dutch sometimes took a leaf out of the Japanese book in the south and confirmed the suspicion that all over-sea strangers were pirates.

By the end of the T'ien Ch'i reign the Manchu power, with Mukden as its capital, had absorbed everything from the Amoor to the Great Wall except Ningyüan and Shanhaikuan.

The northern provinces inside the Wall had risen, too, under Hsü Hung-ju of the "White Lily" secret society.

Chu Yu-chien, brother of the last Emperor (Ming Huai Tsung, commonly called Chuang-lieh Ti, nien-hao Ch'ung Chêng, 1628 to 1644) began his reign by removing eunuchs and evil counsellors. But ere long the old clouds gathered ; eunuchs were set to spy on the doings of the regular officials ; the government trusted nobody and nobody trusted the government. Graft was universal, armies existed only on paper, the very guns on the gates of Peking were merely painted boards.

Year by year the Manchus raided more widely and more boldly. Thrice they were at the very gates of Peking (1629, 1636, 1638), twice they crossed the sea to Shantung (1633, 1639),—all eastern Mongolia was theirs. In 1636 the son of Nurhachu proclaimed himself Emperor of the Ch'ing Dynasty. But Shanhaikuan and Ningyüan, though blockaded nearly twice as long as Troy had been by the Greeks of old, still held firm and while they were true to the Ming, the Manchu raiders could hold none of their conquests.

But there had arisen in China itself a force which undid all that the defenders of these two fortresses could accomplish. In the year 1629 arose two brigand kings, Li Tzŭ-ch'êng and Chang Hsien-chung, whose deeds read more like the nightmare of a diseased imagination than the doings of sane humanity. For

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many years they were driven from province to province and though never reduced to impotence, held more or less in check. With all his faults, Li Tzŭ-ch'êng was a born military genius; if he taught his cavalry horses to drink out of the stomachs of slain men, or if he drowned three hundred thousand by opening the Huang-ho dykes at K'aifêng, he ceased from indiscriminate slaughter when the purposes of his rebellion seemed likely to be attained.

After the capture of K'aifêng (1642) the rebellion rose like a flood. The T'ungkuan pass was forced; the horde, hundreds of thousands strong swarmed through Shensi, putting to the sword the garrison of every city that opposed them; then, crossing the north of Shansi, poured down through Nank'ou into the Peking plain and took one of the city gates. On April 9, 1644, Li Tzŭ-ch'êng was master of the town. The Emperor slew the eldest princess, commanded the Empress to commit suicide, sent his three sons into hiding, wrote a last decree on the lapel of his coat, to say that he had incurred the wrath of God on high, had been deceived by his ministers and was ashamed to meet his ancestors, and hanged himself on an acacia tree on the Wan Sui hill behind the Palace.

Li Tzŭ-ch'êng, now proclaimed Emperor of the Shun Dynasty, only held Peking, however, for two months. Wu San-kuei, who was holding Shanhaikuan for the Ming, hearing of these events and that his father and his wife were both captives in the hands of the insurgents, suddenly determined on a bold stroke.

T'ai Tsung of the Manchus, son of Nurhachu, had died the previous year. He is buried in a splendid sepulcre among the pine woods of Peiling at Mukden,—his father being entombed a little further from that city at Tungling. At the moment the Manchus were under the nominal rule of a little boy of five years old, Prince Fu-lin, for whom an uncle, Durgan, acted as Regent. With this Durgan Wu San-kuei put himself into communication and when Li Tzŭ-ch'êng marched eastward he was met at Yung-p'ing Fu by Wu and his new Manchu allies defeated and driven back in disorder to Peking (June, 1644).

Four months later (October) the little prince Fu-lin was installed as Emperor of the Manchu-Ch'ing dynasty in Peking, with nieh-hao Shun Chih. The bulk of northern China, too exhausted with a generation of famine and civil war to do otherwise, submitted readily enough. Li Tzŭ-ch'êng was chivied from pillar to post through Shansi, Shensi, Honan, Hupei, to some place among lonely mountains where the rotting remains of

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his corpse, only recognizable by the imperial robes which wrapped them, were discovered by a party of peasants.

His former pal, Chang Hsien-chung, now "Emperor of the West," after placing all the women and children of Yochou on boats, floating them to the middle of the Tungting Lake and setting fire to them all, was rapidly depopulating Ssŭch'uan by a series of massacres that puts anything told of Mongols in Persia or Turks in Armenia quite out of court. But gradually, after he had put about six million people to death, Chang and his crew were hemmed in and within a few years the desolated provinces that he had ruined were occupied for the Manchus and the relics of his armies slipped away southward to join the last supporters of the lost cause of the Ming.

(9) *CHINKIANG a Manchu Garrison Town.*

Very large parts of China, deeming the Manchus to be merely northern barbarians, were by no means ready to forsake their old allegiance. In the Wan Li reign a son of the then Emperor, suspected of disloyal designs, had been rusticated to Loyang in Honan with the title of Fu Wang and given some feudal privileges. He was slain in 1641 during Li Tzŭ-ch'êng's revolt, but had left a son, Chu Fu, also known as Fu Wang, a notoriously worthless voluptuary, round whom a loyalist party, led by a very notable statesman Shih K'o-fa, rallied. At the time of the Manchu entry into Peking this party held a long line of mutually-supporting garrisons from Shensi down the Yellow River to Shantung, besides the canal to the lower Yangtze and it looked as if either a treaty of partition might be patched up or that the struggle of Ming and Manchu would be fought out in Shantung.

Even at the first, however, there was a doubt as to which of several Ming princes it would be wisest to enthrone. Shih K'o-fa himself favoured a certain Prince of Lu, as being of better character than Prince Fu, but to avoid dissensions acquiesced in the latter's elevation, and he was accordingly proclaimed in Nanking. Thereupon one Kao Chieh, who had been holding the T'ung Kuan pass in Shensi, abandoned his station and marched with his troops right across China to Yangchou, murdering one of the other commanders on the way. Shih K'o-fa went out to meet him and was taken prisoner at Kuachou, opposite Chinkiang, but escaped.

These and other dissentions among the Ming partisans naturally enabled the Manchus and their now numerous Chinese allies, to suppress the resistance that had been set up in Shantung and by January, 1645, they were in front of Hsüchou and Such'ien.

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At Such'ien Shih K'o-fa inflicted a temporary check upon them, but Kao Chieh deserted to their side and ere long, the Ming armies were in open anarchy, fighting one another and letting the Manchus advance along the canal to Tsingkiangpu and Huaian. Shih K'o-fa, with thirty thousand men, was preparing to defend Yangchou, when the news that another pro-Manchu army was marching by a more westerly route on Nanking induced him to fall back on P'uk'ou. But when the Manchus were before Yangchou, Shih hurried thither. After a siege of only two days the place was stormed and an appalling ten days of pillage and massacre, vividly described in Backhouse and Bland's "Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking," laid the town in ruins, Shih K'o-fa was among the slain.

At Nanking all was confusion. By June, 1645, the Manchus were on the banks of the Yangtze, encamped at P'uk'ou and Fu Wang in flight to Wuhu, where he was captured and sent a prisoner to Peking. Some of the Manchus crossed over to Chinkiang and occupied Golden Island, but the bulk remained camped along the northern shore, for a diversion from an unexpected quarter had arisen and the lower Yangtze was in the hands of a new power, professing allegiance to the Ming, though not to Fu Wang and certainly little inclined to submit to the Manchus.

This new power was that of the Fukien pirate clan of the Chêngs. Their family temple may still be seen on the shore, near the mouth of Anhai harbor, a little to the north of Amoy, for the clan is not a little proud even to-day of its seventeenth century representatives and their prowess and preserves interesting portraits of these redoubtable buccaneers.

At the time we are speaking about the Chêngs had been influential, not to say practically independent, for about twenty years. In 1629—the year in which Li Tzŭ-ch'êng had emerged in the north,—their chief Chêng Chih-lung, till then a free lance, had made his peace with the government, who, either then or later, gave him the right to adopt the Imperial surname of Chu, whence his son Chêng Ch'êng-kung,—born in Formosa of a Japanese mother,—came to be known as "Kuo Hsing Yeh"—the "Gentleman with the National Surname," or, as the European writers of the time spelt it, Koxinga.

About the time when the Manchus began to menace the Yangtze and Fu Wang seemed shaky, several other Ming princes were proclaimed further to the south. For instance a prince of Lu, Chu Chang-fang, had been enthroned in Hangchou,—not, apparently the same Lu Wang whom Shih K'o-fa had been

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disposed to favour. But he soon fell, to be replaced by another claimant, Chu Yu-chieh, a descendant in the tenth generation of the twenty-third son of old Chu Yüan-chang, the founder of the line (Ming T'ai Tsu), and known as T'ang Wang, whom the "pirate" chief of Fukien, Chêng Chih-lung, found and set up as sovereign in Foochow. In the T'ang Wang's name Chêng sent a naval force forthwith up the Yangtze, under a cousin named Chêng Hung-kuei.

Arriving at Chinkiang just as the Manchu army was crossing over to Golden Island, they obliged the Manchus to desist from that operation and go further up stream. From Nanking, however, the Manchus floated down on rafts and after receiving some cannonading from Chêng Hung-kuei, they took Chinkiang and Tanyang, whereupon Chêng retreated to the mouth of the River. What else might have happened had the Ming party possessed any unity of leadership it is useless to speculate, for just then Chêng Chih-lung deserted to the Manchu side.

For the south was not solid in favour of the pirates' sovereign. A powerful party in Kuangtung had set up yet another Emperor, Chu Yu-lang, a brother of the Ch'ung Chêng emperor who had hanged himself on the acacia tree in Peking and known as K'uei Wang. The adventures of this K'uei Wang are a long story that does not particularly concern our subject, but from his court at Chao Ch'ing he held out for a good many years and he is noteworthy for the fact that he allowed the Jesuit Missionaries to baptise him, with his mother, his wife and about fifty members of his court, wherefore Father A. Koffler called him the "Constantine of China."

Meanwhile Prince T'ang, deserted by Chêng Chih-lung, was rounded up and eventually slain at Tingchou in Fukien (1646). But Chêng Ch'êng-kung, the Japanese half-caste "Koxinga," now head of the clan, so far from following his father's example and advice and making terms with the conquerors, proclaimed his allegiance to the Cantonese K'uei Wang and had the luck to conquer, in that prince's name, nearly all the coast-line of the south of China.

The history of the next ten years is one of confusion and turmoil all over the south of China, and I need not try to disentangle the details. Canton was taken twice by the Manchus, finally in 1650. Yet it sometimes looked as if the Mings were consolidating a south-China empire as they swarmed up through Kiangsi or Hunan and gathered up the floating fragments of Li Tzŭ-ch'êng's or Chang Hsien-chung's hordes. But, on the whole, the Manchus

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made good and drove the K'uei Wang back step by step to the Burmese frontier and the final dêbacle there in 1660.

In 1656 the Manchus, under a certain Ch'a Chi, won a naval fight off the mouth of the Min, against Chêng Ch'êng-kung. But in 1658 he was out again at the head of 100,000 men and took Wenchou and T'aichou, but the loss of many junks in a storm compelled him to retreat.

Next year, 1659, hearing that the Manchus were preoccupied in Yünnan, Chêng sailed to the mouth of the Yangtze, whence a portion of his fleet, commanded by Chang Huang-yen, sailed up the river, captured Chinkiang and proceeded up-stream as high as Wuhu. Chêng Ch'êng-kung himself occupied Ch'ung-ming Island and after a march into Anhui, entered Nanking in triumph, proclaiming the restoration of the Ming dynasty,—though his sovereign was then at bay, somewhere on the borders of Burma.

He was besieged in Nanking by the Manchus under Liang Hua-fêng and at the end of four months (July to November, 1659) had to surrender the city and flee to Amoy, having lost 500 junks in this expedition.

The failure of the Chêngs' second raid up the Yangtze was promptly followed by energetic steps on the part of the now triumphant Manchu government. Manchu garrisons (Chu Fang), such as had already been posted in twenty-five places in the metropolitan province of Chihli, were stationed in twenty-two centres in other provinces, among them Canton, Foochow, Ch'apu, Hangchou, Chinkiang and Nanking. In each city a special quarter,—in Nanking it was that surrounding the old Palace of the founder of the Mings,—was set aside for the residence of these garrisons and lest pride should fail to keep them apart from the general population, they were forbidden to intermarry with the Chinese. They were supported by a system of doles which was continued long after their military functions had become derisory, but, as we shall see hereafter, at Chinkiang at least, they long preserved their ancient spirit and courage. At first they were feared; to the end they were disliked; in their later years they were despised. There is a remnant of them still in Chinkiang, a remnant whose poverty makes the care of them a serious burden both on the authorities and on public charity, but in the days of their vigour their quarter would seem to have been not only the pleasantest part of Chinkiang but a district of wide, well kept streets and beautiful gardens possessing far more amenities than are at all usual in Chinese cities. There are considerable burial grounds of Manchus of the White and Yellow Banners,

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outside the south-west suburbs, the graves that I have observed dating from the K'anghsi to the Taokuang reign.

At the same time the whole coast population was ordered to retire thirty *li* inland and in fifty-eight districts this order was actually put in force (1660).

Chêng Ch'êng-kung now saw that the Ming cause was hopeless, but he determined, rather than give in to the Manchus, to set up on his own account. To secure a base for operations, he raised a force of twenty-five thousand men and attacked the Dutch settlements in Formosa, which, after nine months' resistance and the loss of 1,600 men, were forced to surrender to him.

It was about this time that the Manchus put to death old Chêng Chih-lung,—the first "pirate king," who had gone over to them in 1646,—together with two of his sons, being annoyed that they had failed to bring about Chêng Ch'êng-kung's submission. This act the latter denounced as treachery and declared he would avenge by carrying on an inplacable war, but shortly afterwards (1662) he died.

A little before Chêng Ch'êng-kung's death, the second Manchu Emperor of China, Hsüan Yeh, so famous under his nien-hao of K'ang-Hsi (1662-1723) came to the throne.

For nineteen years longer Chêng Ch'ing, son of Chêng Ch'êng-kung, carried on the contest against the Manchu, till his death in 1681, and it was not till 1683 that *his* son, Chêng K'o-shuang, bribed by the offer of a title, tendered his submission and the Fukienese Pirate state at length came to an end. But neither Chêng Ch'ing nor Chêng K'o-shuang ever came near Chinkiang.

By this time, too, the great revolt of Wu San-kuei and the other viceroys of the south, that had threatened the newly-formed Manchu Empire with disruption during several years, had been suppressed and China had begun at length to settle down into that long century of internal tranquillity which has given western observers the idea that the Chinese are a peaceful people.

Just a hundred years had elapsed since Nurhachu had succeeded his grandfather (1583) as *beira* of the little Manchu settlement of Hutuala and the command of a band of one hundred and thirty henchmen.

In 1682 a proposal was made that tribute rice from the south, instead of being sent up by canal, should be transported by sea, but on the advice of Isanga, Imperial clansman, inspector of the Yellow River and president of the Board of Revenue, it was not carried out. So the tribute continued to pass Chinkiang as of old.

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For many years Chinese history is concerned with frontier affairs with Russia, with the chieftains Galdan, Tsewang Arabdan, Tsening Arabdan, Amusana, etc., who successively rose to power in the north-western wildernesses, with the organization of Turkestan into the "New Dominion," with Tibet, with Burma, with Nepal, with risings of south-western aboriginal tribes, sometimes with European traders and missionaries, but China herself went on imperturbably and seemingly contendedly, with scarcely a ripple to diversify the steady course of her inward recuperation. The only big fact that characterised the time is a vast increase in population.

1685.—The K'ang Hsi Emperor performed his first southern tour of inspection, visiting Nanking.

1686.—Edict opening the whole coast of China to foreign trade.

1688.—Emperor's second tour, to Nanking and Hangchou.

1692.—Missionaries report 100,000 converts in Kiangsu, Anhui and Kiangsi, and obtain the repeal of an edict of 1671, which, though permitting churches to be reopened, had forbidden proselytising. This is counted as an edict of toleration.

1699.—Emperor's third progress to the south, as far as Hangchou.

1703.—Emperor's fourth progress, all through Kiangnan. At this time Chiang Chün (Manchu Commanders-in-Chief, or "Tartar Generals") were appointed to all provinces, ranking above the Provincial Governors and Governors-General.

Quite a number of the temples in and near Chinkiang have stone tablets of about this date. It might be worth ascertaining whether any of them refer to visits of the Emperor to the town.

In 1705 there were riots in Nanking, caused by an accusation of treason brought against a popular prefect, Ch'ên P'êng-nien. He was imprisoned and condemned to death, but afterwards pardoned and summoned to Peking.

About this time the long controversy between the Jesuits and the Dominicans as to whether Chinese ancestral rites were "idolatrous" and as to whether "T'ien" is a sufficient translation of "God," came to a head and the Pope deciding in favour of the narrower contention of the Dominicans, the prospect of Catholic missionary success in China was darkened. In 1705 the papal Legate, Tournon, reached China and promulgated decrees supporting the Dominican view.

To these decrees the Emperor replied, 1706, by a counter-decree granting toleration only to such Christians as preached

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the "doctrine of Ricci," ordering others to leave for Canton within five days. Tournon, 1707, thereupon forebade the missionaries to submit to investigation by the Emperor's examiners. By 1716 Missionaries had been, with a few exceptions, expelled from China.

In 1720 a new papal Legate, Mezzabarba, attempted to negotiate for the return of the missionaries, but his proposals for a compromise satisfied neither side and the Emperor told him that, the Pope's decree being incompatible with the customs of the Empire, the Christian religion could no longer subsist within it.

In 1722 the K'ang Hsi Emperor died, succeeded by his fourth son, Yü Chêng, nien-hao Yung Chêng,—1723-1736, under whom not only Christianity was rigoriously proscribed, but foreign seaborne trade was confined to the one port of Canton, while the Russian frontier trade was regulated by the Treaty of Kiachta of 1727.

Till this time there had been a good many western commercial visits to various parts of the coast. England had been looking for openings ever since the latter years of Elizabeth, but till the journey of Weddell in Charles the First's reign had had no ships on the coast. But, as the East India Company grew in importance, these ventures multiplied, especially after the reorganization of the Company in William the Third's time. Thus there are two or more English graves at Amoy, with dates 1698 and 1700, and in 1702, Company's ships had been at Ningpo and had "occupied" Chusan. Portugal, though already fallen from her high estate, kept her leasehold of Macao, while Spaniards from the Philippines ran in and out of Amoy and Ch'uan-chou, Hollanders maintained a precarious and humiliating intercourse with Japan and had not forgotten that they had once held Formosa and the Pescadores, and Louis the Fourteenth of France was not blind to the business opportunities that might accrue from patronage of Catholic missionary enterprise. But now all these openings were shut down and apart the neighbouring settlement of Macao, business could only be done through the agency of a "Co-hong" of Cantonese monopolists.

In 1727, Hui Shih-chi, of some celebrity as a poet and writer, was cashiered for remissness in building (repairing ?) the walls of Chinkiang.

In 1736, began the long reign of Hung Li (nien-hao Ch'ien Lung, 1736 to 1795; an able ruler with an insatiable thirst for knowledge, but as determined an opponent of missions as his father.

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1747, Shên Tê-chien, native of Ch'angchou, became tutor to the Emperor's family.

1757, The Emperor and Empress Dowager visited the southern province, staying at Nanking and other places.

1762, Second visit of Emperor and Empress Dowager to Nanking.

1765, Third visit of Emperor and Empress Dowager to Nanking.

1776, The Emperor visited T'aishan and other places in Shantung.

1780, The Emperor made a progress tc the south, building a palace and library on an island in the West Lake at Hangchou and also visiting Nanking.

1785, Fifth and last visit of the Ch'ien Lung Emperor to Nanking.

All these travels of the Ch'ien Lung Emperor afforded occasion not only for festivities, but for the composition of innumerable inscriptions and poems,—he himself being an indefatigable versifier,—and specimens will be found in almost any temple of any pretentions that was favoured by his visits. There are five stone tablets at the Bamboo Grove temple connected with such a visit. He was often at Chinkiang, had a particular love for Golden Island and occupied some ornamental Gardens,—Wu Yüan, the Five Gardens,—at Kuachou.

In 1792, Lord Macartney passed Chinkiang on his way up to Peking to attempt arrangements for diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese court, returning the same way in 1793. He and his party were much impressed with the crossing of the Yangtze and the pagoda-crowned islands.

On the abdication of the old Emperor, his fifteenth son, Yung Yen (nien-hao Chia Ch'ing, 1796-1820) succeeded,—the Ch'ien Lung emperor dying in 1799.

The whole Chia Ch'ing reign is a tale of trouble with pirates, rebels, secret society machinations and palace intrigues, in startling contrast to the tastely dignity of the age that had gone. But the pirate war was too far to the south and the chief rebellion,—in Ssŭch'uan and Hupei,—too far to the west, to have any immediate repercussion on Chinkiang.

In 1813 an assassination plot was made the excuse for giving up the old imperial hunting trips. Henceforth the emperors of the Manchu line were prisoners in their palaces. Twenty thousand executions are alleged to have followed this affair.

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In 1815 drought caused a severe famine, and 170,000 refugees had to be fed in Nanking.

In 1818, Lord Amherst's Mission visited Chinkiang and Nanking on their way to Peking, where they were treated with gross discourtesy.

The next Emperor, Mien Ning (nien-hao Tao Kuang, 1821 to 1850) was a man of amiable character, whose secluded life unfitted him for government.

During the first forty years or so of the nineteenth century quite extraordinary activity seems to have prevailed in and round Chinkiang in the erection of "P'ai-lou"—memorial arches—to faithful widows. Very few are to be seen older than the Chia Ch'ing reign and again, except in a sort of garden attached to a temple on the north side of the new Malou, not many are newer than the Tao Kuang period.

Two very remarkable specimens stand close to the north-west corner of the British Consulate, in its grounds. They bear inscriptions containing several hundred names, arranged chronologically from the beginning of Yung Chêng to near the end of Chia Ch'ing, which date may be taken as that of the erection of the archways. Most of the ladies are described as having received diplomas for fidelity to their husbands, some for fidelity to the memory of their betrothed. An association seems to have been charged with recording such instances and applying to the authorities for diplomas ;—perhaps it still exists.

The p'ailous beyond the first village, a little past the Chinkiang railway station on the highroad towards Nanking, bear dates in Taokuang. Those in the valley whence a winding path through woods leads up to Ch'i-hua Ssŭ are rather earlier ; of the two still standing one is dated 1806, the other 1813. In almost any ramble in the country round Chinkiang such monuments are to be found and though a few are Ch'ien Lung, the "great age" for faithful widows in these parts seems to have dawned with the year 1800.

In 1824 a serious breach of the Yellow River dykes resulted in the dismissal of the Nanking Viceroy, Sun Yü-t'ing, who was held responsible and in the blocking of the Grand Canal. T'ao Chu, Governor of Kiangsu, and No Yen-ch'êng, Viceroy of Chihli, reviving the old project of 1682,—arranged to have the tribute rice sent north by sea instead of by the Canal.

In 1828 this same T'ao Chu had the Woosung Bar dredged. In 1830 he was promoted to be Nanking Viceroy, and reformed the salt tax administration, making it possible for government tax-paid salt to compete with the unlicenced, smuggled, article.

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But ere long China had graver things to consider. The abolition in 1834 of the East India Company's monopoly, become futile since American (1784), Danish and all sorts of other free-lance ships had entered the trade, threw Canton open to British private enterprise and renewed in far acuter form that question of the need of direct diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese court that the murder of Finch in 1757 had raised and that Lord Macartney and Lord Amherst had failed to settle.

The dispute rapidly deepened into a quarrel and being complicated by tiresome side-issues about the smuggling of opium, led in 1839 to war.

(10) *The coming of the YANG KUEI TZU to Chinkiang.*

At first the operations of the war were, apart from a flying naval visit to the Gulf of Chihli, confined to the south coast, far from Chinkiang. But in the summer of 1842 the British determined to cut the struggle short by such an occupation of the lower Yangtze and its canal communication with Peking as should strangle the conveyance of food and tribute to the capital and to have a look at Nanking.

The Woosung forts were dismantled in June and Shanghai occupied. After the return of some survey ships sent to reconnoitre the river, a fleet of seventy-three sail and several steamers, bearing four brigades of troops, accompanied by the Plenipotentiary Sir Henry Pottinger, started up stream at daylight on July 6, and after various small adventures and delays, were opposite Chinkiang on the 18th.

The story of what happened is, to say the least, very curious as well as tragic. On the whole the local population showed hardly any animosity, except among the official classes, to the invaders. Rather they were anxious to amuse and entertain them, whenever there seemed an opportunity to earn a dollar or two by so doing. Charts of the Yangtze had been copied by Chinese in Macao and sold to the British early in the summer and though a few ships ran aground at one point or another, no really serious difficulty in navigation seems to have been encountered.

It is commonly said in Chinkiang that the fleet anchored in what was then a southern branch of the river between Golden Island and the present railway line, but I have found no explicit confirmation of this in the accounts that I have seen of the operations, though there are references to visits to the island and implications that it was then quite surrounded by navigable water. If I understand the description, there was a creek, supposed to bend round the base of the hills to the south and communicate

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both with the canal below the city (a geological impossibility) and again into the river higher up, and at the mouth of this creek bottom could not be found at twenty fathoms, so the party visiting Chin Shan anchored in ten fathoms, almost among the rushes.

It was the British in this expedition who chose the name of "Silver Island" to designate Chiao Shan,—called in the description before me "Seung Shan" (which may stand for Hsiang Shan the fortified bluff on the mainland abreast of Chiao Shan.) The name, as we all know, has stuck and is still in use among foreign residents, but has no Chinese justification; indeed one of the Chinese names for quite a different hill, that on which the British Consulate stands, is Yin Shan, or Yin T'ai Shan, Silver or Silver-Top Hill, possibly a variant on the Yün Shan of old Mar Sargis' time.

It was chiefly on the north shore, round Kuachou, and up to Shiherhwei, that the British landed or made reconnaissances, or were entertained by Chinese anxious to concilate their good graces. Thus:—"19th July. The *Modeste* . , . was anchored on the "northern shore, across the mouth of the canal and upon my arrival was surrounded by punts full of men and vegetables, fish, bullocks and all the good things the country provided. These were intended as 'cumshaw' . . . ," etc. (Captain Granville G. Loch's "Campaign in China," p. 86).

Meanwhile the Manchu garrison in Chinkiang city prepared to put up a strenuous resistance and had planted batteries along the heights beyond the south western suburbs. On the 21st the British landed and scaled the bluff on the mainland opposite Golden Island,—this must mean the Consulate hill or its extensions southward,—then moved as fast as the great heat would allow up a valley leading to the heights (Paokai Shen ?) which the garrison had manned, and took those positions at the point of the bayonet, driving the defenders back to the city walls. Then, by a well directed shot, the west gate of the city was blown in, the shot driving the gate itself down the street beyond, yet doing no damage whatever to the brickwork of the gateway.

In a moment the British were in Chinkiang to find there a scene of indescribable horror. What the Manchu garrison expected the troops to do to them I find it hard to understand. Perhaps it was not the British but the native population and the wrath of their own Imperial court that they were afraid of. The General had set fire to his own quarters and burnt himself in the flames. In almost every house in the Manchu quarter were dead or dying women, slain by their own or their relatives' hands. The whole town seemed to have either fled or committed suicide and

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Chinese plunderers were looting everywhere among the bloodshed and confusion. Some of the garrison seem to have been massacred by the people of surrounding villages, where the whole country side broke into an orgy of anarchy, but one body made its way through to Nanking to reinforce the garrison there.

This horrible affair brought the Chinese government to its knees. An Imperial Commissioner arrived on the scene almost at the moment that Chinkiang fell and on the 28th of August the Treaty of Nanking was signed on board H.M.S. *Cornwallis* abreast that city.

I do not propose to pursue the story of Chinkiang in detail during the eighty years that have since elapsed. Its capture by the British was a very heavy blow to Manchu prestige and it reverberated through the south in a manner that shook the stability of the dynasty. Within a few years rebellion on a far wider scale than had been seen since the middle of the seventeenth century had the land in its clutches.

Early in 1853 the Ch'ang Mao,—"Long Haired" rebels,—under Hung Hsiu-ch'uan,—swarmed down the Yangtze, taking Nanking on the 24th of March, Chinkiang on the 1st of April, Yangchou on the 2nd,—and proclaiming the "T'ai P'ing T'ien Kuo,"—the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace.

They held Chinkiang till 1857, though the Imperialists, who early recovered Yangchou and Kuachou, established a blockade almost from the first and made many efforts to retake the city. It was during this siege that the T'aip'ings dug the remarkable line of trenches, ten or eleven miles in total length, that begin on Ewo Shan and sweep round over hill and dale till they approach the bank of the Yangtze away beyond the eastern side of the town. They made a fairly complete devastation of the surrounding country, especially of its temples and religious monuments of every sort. Nearly all will be found to have been rebuilt, or to have needed wholesale restoration, since those days and many are either still in ruins or at the present time being repaired, not always on their old scale.

Then, in 1858, came the second war with England, when, though the British and their French allies were fighting the Imperial government both north and south, they preserved a neutrality, much more benevolent to the government than to the rebels, in those provinces which the latter were devastating.

About 1860 a very able military Commander of the T'aip'ings known as Chung Wang, the Faithful King, greatly revived the flagging fortunes of the rebellion. For a time Shanghai itself was in imminent danger of capture, but, thanks to the efforts

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of the "Ever Victorious Army"—of which Gordon, somewhat later assumed command, disaster to the imperialists was averted and the T'aip'ings gradually hemmed in till the end came with the fall of Nanking in 1864.

Meanwhile, in accordance with the Treaty of Tientsin, negotiated in 1858 but only ratified after a further campaign and the occupation of Peking in 1860, Chinkiang, or such ruins of Chinkiang as the combatants in the T'aip'ing war had left, was declared a Port open to foreign trade. In 1861 a site was leased and laid out for a British Concession and just outside the Concession, on the side of Yin T'ai Shan, land was acquired for a Consulate.

Some years passed before that site was occupied. At first the British Consul lived at Chiao Shan (so-called Silver Island). Then a house was rented on the slope near Kuanyin's Cave,—the spot and, subject to later alterations, the premises, now occupied by the Chinese Life Saving Association which professes to be part-owner of most of the river foreshore.

A very interesting old photograph shows Chinkiang in 1867, with the Concession lots marked out by boundary walls, but only one house completed, about the position of the present Post Office. The Consulate hill is shown bare of trees and with no buildings on it above the line of the Kuan-yin Cave except the memorial arches of the eighteenth-century widows. The T'aip-ings had destroyed the temple that had once stood alongside these arches, and of which carved stones and other scraps are discoverable, here and there, in the Consulate garden.

In those days, though the 1867 photograph indicates very little, if any, building on Kan-lu Ssŭ headland, Consuls used sometimes to resort to that picturesque spot to spend week-ends, whence the place came to receive the name of "Consular Bluff."

After a while a Consulate was built on the site acquired in 1861, as shown in a plan of 1874. But on 5th February, 1889, that first Consulate was burnt in a riot with several other neighbouring houses, both inside and outside the Concession and in 1890 the present British Consulate was erected.

By degrees the city recovered and its holy places, Chiao Shan, Chin Shan (no longer an island, unless at very high floods), Ch'i-hua Ssŭ, the Bamboo Grove temple, etc. etc., were restored and redecorated. Especially on Kan-lu headland a charming group of memorial temples was built, into the walls of which were inserted such inscriptions as had been preserved from the old buildings,—one or two date from the first Manchu reign, Shun

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Chih,—and became a favorite resort for native picnic parties. One of these shrines is dedicated to the great Sung schoolman, Chu Hsi, another to the famous Admiral of the Yangtze, P'êng Yü-lin, who had done such excellent service against the T'aip'-ings, yet remained to the end a simple-minded, incorruptible barbarian of the old school, who never could understand why modern delicacy frowned when, in the French troubles of 1885, he proposed to send emissaries to Singapore to poison any French officers who might be enjoying British hospitality there. And there are many others.

Here my tale must end, or I might be tempted to dilate on the hopes and disappointments connected with the fluctuations of foreign trade, to discuss Sir Robert Hart's anticipation that Chinkiang might some day eclipse Shanghai as a commercial centre, to describe the introduction and development of mission enterprise (by the way, among the graves in the present foreign cemetery, is that of Dr. Hudson Taylor who founded the China Inland Mission in 1866),—the coming of the Railway, diverting much of the old trade of the port to its terminus at Nanking, yet admitting that this loss is set off by gains in other ways,—modern motor-launch traffic up the canal and how much more there might be if the brigands would permit,—oil tanks, flour mills, match factories, silk and silk brocade works,—not to mention corn and produce exchange projects,—the rearming of the Hsiang Shan, Chiao Shan and Tu T'ien Miao batteries and the part these played in the abortive "second revolution" of 1913,—and most burning question of all, the onward-creeping growth of the Chêng Jên Chou spit and the great debate whether the British Concession has a right of pre-emption over foreshore accretions or whether these have been bought up by Chinese purchasers. But these and all such topics are present-day Chinkiang politics, not yet ripe to form the material of history.

[CORRIGENDA:—P. 195, line 24, for "1. Preliminary of Yangchou (B.C. 200)" read "1. Preliminary:—(to B.C. 200). Yangchou." P. 201, line 32, for "Sun Wu" read "Wu Tzŭ-hsü."]

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ANCIENT RELIGIONS OF CHINA

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

While the ancient history of most countries generally is interwoven with the religion current at those times and is full of mythological tales, this is not the case with the existing records of Chinese history. The classical works contain hardly a hint of religion, and with very few exceptions, mythology is not to be found in them. This seems strange, and we are led to ask for the cause. Something unusual must have happened to create this remarkable fact. According to my understanding the answer must be, that some of the leading men of old China had a tendency to leave religion alone and stick to moral philosophy only. Man (大夫, i.e., the great master) has taken the most important place in the religious system, and the said leaders have at the same time sought to transfer certain designations from the gods to man. The name "Son of Heaven," originally used for a god, has been transferred to the emperor, and other religious designations have been given to the high dignitaries of the empire. In the same way, names of ancient gods have been given to countries, stars, etc. In short, the religious has in many ways been explained away.

This method was already being followed during the time of the Chou Dynasty, but the end of the Western and the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty saw the work accomplished, i.e., during the first Christian century. Great men such as the historians Ssŭ-ma-t'an (died B.C. 110) and more especially his renowned son, the Herodotus of China, Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien (died B.C. 85), were then flourishing, as well as Liu-hsiang (died B.C. 9) and his son, Liu-hsin (about the time of the birth of Christ), the historian Pan-ku (died A.D. 92) and the philosophers Yang-hsiung

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(died A.D. 18) and Wang-ch'ung (died A.D. 98). Pan-ku seeks in his history of the Western Han Dynasty to supplement the work of his great colleague, Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien. In the classification of the subject he follows Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien's method, a proof of the renown already attained by the work of this author. But the two historians had different religious opinions, because these changed with the different dynasties. Though Wang-ch'ung himself had very little to do with the religious reformation at the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty, he may nevertheless be said to show the materialistic tendency of the time. He is not only a great opponent of superstition* but really a materialist†. At least it is certain, that the official religious opinion in vogue at the time of the Eastern Han Dynasty has been continued with little or no alteration until the present day. It is strange to notice, that just when Buddhism enters China the religious stagnation of the country is beginning. We may well ask: What would have happened, if Christianity at that time, which seems to have been a "fullness of time" for China, had come to the country?

As the Eastern Han Dynasty at its beginning took up the position, with regard to religion which it throughout maintained, we are justified in making use of remarks made in two books written at that time. They are Pan-ku's *Pai-hu-t'ung* and Hsü-shên's *Shuo-wên*, and we will quote the last-mentioned work partly from the Chinese original and partly from Dr. Wieger's "Chinese Characters," which is written with the *Shuo-wên* as its basis.

It is a well-known fact, that the ancient Chinese were apt to make alterations in religious books, if the sentiments expressed in an older work did not correspond with the religious opinion of the ruling dynasty. It is, e.g., very distinctly noticeable in the work of Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien, especially in his "Imperial Sacrifice." We can, therefore, not be quite sure whether any alterations have been made in the *Pai-hu-t'ung* and the *Shuo-wên*. However, as the same official religion, as already stated, generally speaking, has been continued from the time of the Eastern Han Dynasty until the present day, such alterations cannot be of much significance. In the *Lu-shih*—a work from the time of the Sung Dynasty (from A.D. 960)—it is said, that "as to the five sacrifices, both the Wei State and the Chin Dynasty have followed the instructions of the Han Dynasty." In this essay we will not refer to the original works in every instance when quotations are given, but these quotations will often be taken from a work 群源 that is

* De Groot: "The Religious Systems of China," Book II.

† Grube: "Geschichte der chinesischen Litteratur," page 220.

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published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai (9th edition, 1917). It gives quotations from Confucian as well as from Taoist Writings. The said work is divided into twelve parts according to the twelve earthly branches (地支), and we shall refer to the different parts in Roman ciphers from I to XII, also giving number of page and the heading of the passage, the last mentioned with English letters according to Wade's system.

In the 6th part of the Chou-li—a part added during the Han Dynasty instead of the original lost 6th part*—different colours are mentioned, which I suppose refer to those forms of religion which had been current from the later time of the Chou Dynasty until the Eastern Han Dynasty. As it is also customary to mention the four gods (emperors)† ruling the different seasons of the year by names of colours, and to give a religion the name of a colour (e.g., Taoism ‡), we will in the following essay specially use the colours as designations for religions and gods.

In closing this introduction we will quote some remarks made by Mr. Fr. le Sage de Fontenay in his "China's Oldste Historie og Chou Dynastiet" in "Eylendal's illustrerede Verdenshistorie," I, p. 138, etc.

Referring to the most ancient history of China (circa 2000-249 B.C.) he says: "The principal sources of the history of ancient times consist of Confucius' *Shu-ching*, the so-called *Bamboo Books* from circa B.C. 300 and the Chinese Herodotus Ssü-ma-ch'ien's voluminous "Historical Memoirs" (*Shih-chi*) from the beginning of the first century before Christ, which is the principal work of the whole ancient history of China. Confucius' *Shu-ching* ("Speeches and Admonitions") rests on old traditions, and forms the basis of the generally used official chronology. But an eminent investigator, Dr. F. Hirth, mentions it as "a historical source, which becomes more suspicious, the more it goes into detail regarding the state of culture of the period. Its sublime theories regarding social and public life set forth in speeches by emperors and their ministers from the time of Yao, Shun and the great Yü down to the criminal Chou-hsin (B.C. 1122) may be regarded as mere philosophical meditations by Confucian sages, who placed these speeches at certain periods according to their own choice,

* II 50 Chou-li 周禮.

† We translate Ti, 帝 by "god," not by "emperor," because it at all events in the time before the Han Dynasty had this signification.

‡ VII 2 Hsüan-chiao 玄教.

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thereby to make the greater impression, in which they succeeded very well indeed." The ancient imperial wisdom taken out of its chronological frame must be regarded as dramatized social meditations from the 6th to the 5th century before Christ. . . It becomes apparent then, that it is impossible to give a continuous historical report of the time before the Chou Dynasty. About the emperors of the Hsia and Shang Dynasties not much more than their names is known, and the dates given for their reigns plainly rest on calculations made at a much later period. We have thus every reason to look at the whole of this traditional history from a very much shortened visual angle, and it is most probable, that the whole of the ancient history of China only covers a few centuries before the beginning of the Chou Dynasty. . The renowned Chou Dynasty (B.C. 1122-249) is that founded by Wu-Wang, Duke of Chou, and it is not until this time that we can tread on partly historical ground. The Chinese were still only ruling the country around the Hoangho. . . . Like Germany during the Middle Ages, China was broken up into feudal states. . . From among the 60 feudal states 12 greater states were formed by degrees. These were constantly striving among themselves, seeking to conquer as many of the lesser states as possible. In the 7th century before Christ, the duchy of Ch'i, a neighbouring state to Lu, on the Shantung peninsula, for a long time held the supremacy over all neighbouring states. Also the title of king (wang) was adopted by its princes. This was the case also with the prince of Ch'u towards the south on the Yang-tze, with the prince of Ch'i in Shantung and then many others. It was not until the Han Dynasty that Chinese society, was spiritually and politically speaking, firmly established."

THE EIGHT GREAT GODS OF ANCIENT CHINA. *

The question of Chinese gods is very complicated, so I will first mention the leading features of what I assume to be the oldest gods in China, without any attempt at proofs.

These eight gods belong to two families, one consisting of three members and one consisting of five. They have a connection with a diagram † well known from ancient times, where the numbers 1 to 9 are placed in such a way that their sum is always

* This part is not in the original of the article, which has already appeared in Denmark, but is a later addition.

† *i.e.*

6	1	8
7	5	3
2	9	4

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fifteen, no matter in which direction they are added. . . This was thought so remarkable that the gods have been given numbers and places in the universe according to it. The numbers 1 to 3 belong to the first family which consists of father, mother and son. The father whose original number was 1, has been given the north as his seat, the mother number 2 in the south-west, and the son number 3 in the east. The father in the only one of the eight gods who originally had two numbers, for number 9 belongs to him too, which shows that he holds an unique position among the eight gods. He is called "Heaven" in the *Shuo-wên*; the mother, "the Holy Mother," and the son, "the Son of Heaven." In the *Li-chi* (禮記) the father is called 厲山氏 (or 烈山氏) and the son 農 ("tiller of the ground"). This is changed later to 神農 when the son is made into an emperor. The father is also known by the name of the mountain Liang-fu (梁父).* The name that the mother is best known by is 西王母, and the son is called 苗 (a shoot) or 苗末 (the last shoot). The three gods collectively are called 三苗 (the three shoots).

On the whole, there are frequent allusions to these three gods in the ancient literature of China, though they are often found in disguise. For instance, we find them in the work called 說苑 as the three most renowned physicians of old. The father is called 苗父, and the story goes, that he could heal all who thronged to him, by prayer. He is supposed to have turned to the north and uttered ten words.—The mother has become the physician 會稽 who among other things could raise the dead. In the physician 扁鵲 (the little magpie) we recognize the son, who also performed the most wonderful cures.—We find the three gods again in the mythical story of the broken metal-mirror (破鏡) where the father and mother separate, taking half each. The son brings his parents together again and the mirror is smelted and the son's symbol, the magpie (鵲), is stamped on the back.—With but small differences we find the same thought again in the myth of the weaving girl (織女) and the cowdriver (牽牛) who meet once a year; the magpies forming a bridge for them across the Milky Way.—An allusion to the same is found in the book 穆天子傳. The son, later made emperor in the Chou Dynasty, is originally the son of Heaven for whom the father (造父) is coachman on the way home to the mother (西王母). Notice the coachman's strange name 造父, creator-father. Even the eight horses 造父 drives

* *Vide infra*, p. 293.

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are nothing less than the eight gods of ancient China. Of these horses 白義 corresponds to the father. Again, we notice the strange name: "white righteousness." 踰輪 corresponds to the mother and 山子 to the son. We find the family also under the names of the three stars 降婁, 大梁, 實沈; and once more in the inscription where the Ch'in kingdom curses the Ch'u kingdom. They are here found as 巫咸, 大沈, and 久湫. The order is mother, father, son.

The numbers 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 of the above-mentioned diagram belong to the other family. We find first a woman, or virgin, to whom the number 4 belongs. She is the eldest in this family and is generally known by the name, Virgin Wa (女媧). According to the *Shou-wén* she is the holy virgin of olden times, who transformed all things. Then comes the father, whose number is 5 and whose place is in the centre. Then come his three sons with the numbers 6, 7 and 8. This father is also a very important god, which is shown by his position in the centre. He also appears as creator. He is best known under the name P'an-ku (盤古), the first man, but we will discuss him more particularly under the religion of the Ch'in Dynasty, of which he is the chief god. Each of these five gods have their own colour. While the father in the first family has white as his colour, in the second family green is the colour claimed by the virgin Wa. The father has black and his three sons blue, yellow and red respectively. These three sons are chief gods: the blue in the Eastern Han, the yellow in the Western Han and the red in the Chou Dynasty and will be discussed later when we come to the religions of these three dynasties.—Of the eight horses before mentioned 綠耳 corresponds to the Virgin Wa, and 盜驪 to the black god. Notice the first half of the name 盜, meaning robber. The last part of the name means black. The red god's name is 赤驥. In the book 楚詞 he goes continually under the name 騏驥. 渠黃 and 華騮 are the yellow and the blue gods respectively.

In the *Tsoa-chwan's* mention of 八凱 and 八元 we can also trace the eight ancient gods. The last four in 八元 are seen as wild animals. In the tiger we recognize the father of the first family. In the bear we find the black, in the leopard the blue, and in the fóx the red god.

We will now pass on to the study of the worship of the different dynasties. For certain reasons, the chronological order has not been followed, but we begin with the Ch'in Dynasty, followed by the Han Dynasties, and the most difficult of all, the Chou Dynasty, is left till last.

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Gods of the Ch'in Dynasty.

Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien gives in his book "Imperial Sacrifice" (Fêng shan-shu 封禪書) the names of the eight gods to whom Ch'in shih-hwang (秦始皇)—B.C. 246-210—built temples in the province of Shantung. The exact situation of these shrines can, even now, pretty well be shown. It is at all events quite certain as regards the places of sacrifice to the three principal and greatest gods. They are found in a straight line from the North-East to the South-West at an equal distance from each other.* We will deal with these three principal gods separately.

1. *The Lord of Heaven* (T'ien-chu 天主). Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien says about him†,—"The first of the eight gods is called "Lord of Heaven." Sacrifice to the Centre (or "Navel") of Heaven. The centre of Heaven is Yüan-shui 淵水‡. The god resides at the place of sacrifice to Heaven, situated to the south of the town of Lin-chih and below the mountain." In another book the following explanation is given§: "To the south of the town of Lin-chih is found the centre of Heaven. Five springs rise from the same place, which is uncommon. It is said that the place resembles the navel of Heaven." The meaning of T'ien-ch'i 天齊 as centre and navel originated I should think from the god who originally had the number 5 and was placed in the centre of the diagram. It is a common custom in other countries that the centre of the earth is called the navel of the earth. From evidences which will be mentioned later it seems clear that the god is the black god. The original meaning of T'ien-ch'i 天齊 has, I presume, no connection with the black god but rather with the three gods Father, Mother and Son, and here the meaning of T'ien-ch'i in the *Shu-ching* as "Heaven who put the people in order" (天齊於民) is more correct.—In the inscriptions on the fragments of bone—the so-called "oracle bones" recently found in the province of Honan—the character translated "centre" ("navel") is written thus 𠙵. Exactly the same form of writing is used on

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* The place of sacrifice to the principal god, "the Lord of Heaven," is near the present town of Lin-chih (臨菑) situated close to the railway line from Tsi-nan-fu to Tsingtao on the northern side of the railway and about midway between these two cities. The place of sacrifice to "the Lord of the Earth" is the renowned mountain Tai 太山 situated to the south-west of Lin-chih. And the place of sacrifice to "the Military Lord" is situated at a corresponding distance to the south-west of the mountain T'ai, in Shou-chang-hsien (壽張縣), due west of the Yellow River.

† II 217 T'ien-chu 天主.

‡ Yüan-shui can be translated: "The water of the abyss."

§ II 223 T'ien-ch'i 天齊.

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coins from the time of the Chou Dynasty and in inscriptions from the Kingdom of Ch'i (齊). In inscriptions from the empire of (Ch'in 秦) it is, however, written 畣, the bottom part being the character shīh (示), thus giving the word a religious significance. In the *Shuo-wên* it is written 禽, but I do not think that the explanation this work gives either in this or in many other instances is the original one.* The *Shuo-wên* explains it thus: "The equal height of the ears in a field of corn." † But these three symbols, which the *Shuo-wên* explains as representing ears of corn, are not placed at the same height, and the explanation, that the character must be understood perspectively, that the lower one of the two horizontal line represents the foreground, the upper one the background, because the distant ears look as if they were standing on a higher level seems to me rather far-fetched. I cannot give any decisive proof of my supposition, but I believe that the character must signify the three gods, who, as special gods for agriculture, bear relation to a field of corn. Regarding these three we read in another passage of the *Shuo-wên* ‡: "The Goddess of the olden days, the holy Mother," moved "Heaven and gave birth to the Son," who is therefore named "the Son of Heaven." Here are three gods mentioned in the following order: "The holy Mother," "The Heaven," and "The Son of Heaven." We may add to this the following passage from the *Li-chi* ("The Book about Custom and Habit") §: "He, who resided on the mountain Li, ruled everything under heaven. His son was called: 'Tiller of the ground.' He was able to grow all sorts (literally: the hundred sorts) of corn." The last of these gods—for such they must be; how could they otherwise have got the corn to grow?—later becomes the ideal-emperor, Shên-nung ("God-tiller"). From this name we may also infer, that he originally must have been a god. He is the same as the above-mentioned "Son of Heaven," and "He who resides on the mountain Li" is the same as "Heaven."

We will now pay attention to the special term for the "Lord of Heaven," *i.e.* Yüan-shui 淵水, "the water of the abyss." We know from Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien ¶ that Ch'in-shih-hwang chose the element water as his special element and black as his lucky colour, as also the number 6 as his lucky number. Ssŭ-ma-

* See my article in "The Chinese Recorder," July 1918.

† Wieger I, page 334.

‡ The Chinese Shuo-wên, ch 12 b, page 1.

§ I, 408 Li-shan-shih 厲山氏.

¶ Fêng-shan-shu 封禪書, page 7.

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ch'ien also relates, that several matters were adapted to suit this number, e.g., the foot measure should contain 6 inches, etc. We must discriminate between the number of the principal gods and the lucky number of the dynasty concerned.

The following quotation* will show, that the "Lord of Heaven" may be called "the black dragon": "The Duke Wên of Ch'in (B.C. 765-710) went hunting and captured the black dragon, on account of which Ch'in-shih-hwang chose this as his symbol of luck." We obtain the same result by considering the name Kung-kung 工共, which in Chinese history is given to several persons living at different times†, who under a common name are called "water officials." This is supposed to have its origin from the god Kung-kung, who is the same as the "Lord of Heaven." It is said of Kung-kung‡ that he "butted against the mountain Pu-chou 不周山, so the pillars of heaven burst, and the four corners of the earth were broken." Such an act can only be ascribed to a god. To this must be added—as we shall see later on—that "the mountain of Pu-chou" is an expression for the Chou Dynasty's divine worship. It is, therefore, plain that Kung-kung is the principal god of the Ch'in Dynasty, who destroys the Chou Dynasty's worship. Finally it may be mentioned, that when we are told that the goddess Nü-wa (女媧) makes reparation for the devastation made by Kung-kung, the expression used is that she killed "the black dragon."§.

The Emperor Shun (B.C. 2256-08) caused Kung-kung to wander about—the word used denotes especially flowing water—in the province of Yu 幽||. Yu signifies¶ dark, mystic, hidden, jail, the lower regions. We meet this Yu again in the following quotation from the *Shan-hai-ching*: "In the northern sea is found a mountain called the Yu-Metropolis-Mountain. The black water flows from this, and there are Yüan-birds, Yüan-serpents, Yüan-leopards, Yüan-tigers and Yüan-monkeys on the mountain." "Yüan" 元 signifies beginning, the original, head. This seems to imply, that the religion of Ch'in-shih-hwang was an ancient religion adopted by this emperor. Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien says it plainly in his mention of the eight gods, when he declares, that they are "what were revered from ancient times." We are led in the same direction by the fact, that the emperor adopted for himself the name "Shih-hwang-ti," i.e., Commencement-emperor. He hardly did this solely to show his self-consciousness in regard

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* VI, 6 Shui-tê 水德. † I 294 Kung-kung 工共. ‡ II 219 Tien chu 天柱. § II, 254 Nü-wa-shih 女媧氏. || 1, 294 Kung-kung 工共. ¶ Wieger II, Page 502. ⁋ Shan-hai-ching (山海經), 18, 5-6.

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to the former regents, but specially to accentuate, that in religious respects he would return to the very oldest system. This is no doubt a further indication that his was the ruling religion among the nomadic hunting and fishing tribes, that lived beyond the boundaries of the agricultural Chinese, and who in all probability first populated the present China. At all events the religion represented by the principal god of Ch'in-shih-hwang cannot originally have been the religion of a ground-tilling people, but could very well have been in vogue among nomadic, fishing and hunting tribes. He is the god of the winter and the north, which can be seen distinctly from the *Pai-hu-t'ung* 白虎通. We will now pass on to an investigation of this book.

In its section on the five elements (wu-hsing 五行) it is said, concerning the element water, which has a special signification for the form of religion which we are treating here: "The place of the water is in the north. He who is the north, is the principle of Yin (陰); he dwells below the spring, that is, beneath the earth." Again it is said about the north: "The north is water; everything (wan-wu 萬物) hides itself. Here the above mentioned expression Yu (dark, secret, hidden, jail, the lower regions) is used together with "ts'ang" 藏, also signifying "to hide." Furthermore it is said about the winter: "Its place is in the north; its Ti 帝 (emperor) is Chuan-hsü 顓頊, i.e., the frost binds (the waters).* Its Shên 神 (i.e., soul) is Hsüan-ming 玄冥 (i.e., pitch dark or the dark night). Its Ching 精 (i.e., spirit) is Hsüan-wu 玄武 (i.e., the black warrior). The three Chinese words "Ti," "Shên" and "Ching" are difficult to translate, but correspond most probably to "the great man," "earth" and "heaven," and in a way to our classification: body, soul and spirit.

But also in our own times we meet with "the Lord of Heaven" under the name of "K'uei-hsing" 魁星 (the star K'uei). The character for k'uei can be dissolved into two: "demon" 鬼 and "bushel" 斗. We often see this god portrayed black, with a "demon-like appearance and with horns in the forehead. He is standing with one leg on a marine monster (the crake)."† He has a bushel in his hand. The bushel is a symbol of the four wheel-stars in the constellation "Charles' wain," by the Chinese likened to a bushel.‡ I do

* At another place in the *Pai-hu-t'ung*, in the section on the five emperors, Chuan hsü is explained as "the only correct one."

† It is explained in this way, at least, in Father Doré's "Chinese Superstitions," VI, pages 59-60.

‡ See Doré, ibid.

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not think it is correct as Doré is inclined to do, to make this god identical with Wên-ch'ang (文昌) the god of Literature. · Wen-ch'ang is—as will be shown later—another of the great gods of old. That they are different from one another is also evident from the fact, that we find separate temples for each of these two gods in China at the present time.

At the time of Ch'in-shih-hwang the people were called "black heads." * It is supposed that the reason for this name was, that a piece of black cloth was to be worn on or around the head.

The character for Kung-kung in the *Shuo-wên* is written thus: 𢍏工. The latter part 工 signifies now: "workman, work or working time," but in the *Shuo-wên* the meaning of it is: "skill in works of art," with the connotation of artfulness "or cunning." As to the character 𢍏 it signifies "two hands stretched upwards in fear and worship": 𠬜; and 廿 which signifies "20." According to the *Ku-wên* (古文) it is written 𢍏, two hands below and two hands above. The character for two hands is on the whole of great consequence in this religion, while the character for one hand is most important in the religion of the Chou Dynasty.

2. *The Lord of the Earth* (Ti-chu 地主). Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien mentions † two mountains: a high mountain named T'ai (太) which is the same as T'ai-shan so renowned in the history of China, and a small one due north of it by the name of Liang-fu (梁父). "The Lord of the Earth" therefore comprises two gods, one on the mountain T'ai and another on the mountain Liang-fu. As "fu" signifies "father" and as Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien adds: "Heaven is called Yin (陰)‡ and sacrifices are to be offered on the summit of the small mountain, below the high mountain," one must conclude that it is Heaven which is worshipped on the mountain Liang-fu. But from Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien's expression we must also infer: "Earth is called Yang (陽)§, and sacrifices are to be offered to it on the high mountain." Both facts are quite against the generally expressed Chinese idea, according to which heaven is *yang* and is worshipped on a high place, while the earth is *yin* and is worshipped on a low place. I suppose that "the Holy Mother" and "Heaven" are identical with the two gods, who together form "the Lord of the Earth." As to the third god: "the Son of Heaven," who in the time of the Chou Dynasty is dethroned ("killed") and of whom we shall hear more below, it is said in "Imperial

* XII 121 Ch'ien-shou 黔首. † Fêng-shan-shu, page 8. ‡ The female principle. § The male principle.

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Sacrifice," page 15, "that during the time of the Ch'in Dynasty he was only a very small god." We may therefore leave him out of consideration here. We suppose that it is "the Holy Mother" who is worshipped on the mountain T'ai, and "Heaven" to whom sacrifices are offered on Liang-fu.

Hwang-ti (the yellow god or emperor) was—as we will more explicitly try to show afterwards—the principal god during the time of the Western Han Dynasty (following the Ch'in Dynasty). In the passage in the *Li-chi* (禮記), where the seven gods, whom the emperor worships for the sake of the people, are mentioned, the middle one of the five last is named by the double name T'ai-Li (泰厲) *. Of the two characters for this, T'ai is the same as used for the mountain T'ai and Li, the same as used for the mountain Li. † We may also mention, that in the 6th part of the *Chou-li* the colours which are supposed to correspond to forms of religion, ought according to their order in that passage to show black and white as the colours of the Ch'in Dynasty. These two colours are called fu 黼 and translated by "Embroidery adorned with figures." These figures, consisting of two axes, are found on the imperial sacrificial robe.‡ As "the Lord of Heaven" is black, "the Lord of the Earth" must consequently be white.—Though we must confess in all this to have no decisive proof, we think nevertheless we are right, when we suppose that T'ai corresponds to "the Holy Mother," also called Hsi-wang-mu (西王母), and that Heaven is the same as Li (厲) or Li-shan-shih (厲山氏) "he who resides on the mountain Li."—We think that we are right in assuming, that the white colour applies at all events to "Heaven" if not also to "the Holy Mother," and to "the Son of Heaven." We will, therefore, mention this family of gods as the gods of the white religion and later on deal more with them.

3. "*The military Lord*" (Ping-chu 兵主). Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien says § of him: "Sacrifice is made to Ch'ih-yu" 蚩尤. Ch'ih-yu has been translated by "idiotic criminal." It was, of course, not under this name that he was worshipped by Ch'in-shih-hwang, but it must be the name given to him by the Western Han Dynasty and therefore also by Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien. The principal god of this dynasty—at all events from the time of Wu-Ti (B.C. 140-87),—

* I 16 Ch'i Ssŭ 七祀.

† Compare the already quoted words from the Li-chi: "He who resided on the mountain Li, ruled everything under heaven."

‡ XII 126 Fu 黼.

§ Fêng-shan-shu, page 10.

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Hwang-ti, is as will be shown afterwards, a sworn enemy of the "Military Lord." Under the contemptuous name of Ch'ih-yu in my judgment the principal god of the Chou Dynasty, the Fire and Sun god, of whom we shall hear more, is hidden. His colour is red, the principal colour of the Chou Dynasty.

As we from analogy with the gods of the Chou Dynasty are inclined to assume that the remaining five of the eight gods of Ch'iu-shï-hwang are mere duplicates of the principal gods already discussed, we shall not make them the subject of any further inquiry. The names of these five gods are: Yin (the Lord of the female principle), Yang (the Lord of the male principle), the Lord of the Moon, the Lord of the Sun, and the Lord of the four seasons (Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter).

The Yellow Worship (during the time of the Western Han Dynasty, B.C. 206—A.D. 25).

During the beginning of the Western Han Dynasty the custom of the Ch'in Dynasty of having Water and Black as religious symbols was still continued.* The Emperor Wên-Ti (B.C. 179-157), according to Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien,† added the red colour, and it was only because the Yellow dragon appeared that the Yellow god was to be recognized as the chief god. By studying the 28 constellations and especially the 24 periods of time ‡ arranged by Liu-hsin in the year A.D. 7 it appears that during the latest period of the dynasty, Wood and Green had been adopted as the principal symbols. Still, when we consider the Western Han Dynasty, we must more especially dwell upon the time of the Emperor Wu-ſi (B.C. 140-87). This emperor is in religious matters and perhaps also in other respects, the most remarkable ruler of the dynasty. It is during the time of this emperor that Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien flourishes. Although this great historian, who begins his Chinese history with the Yellow Emperor, describes the religious position of the Emperor Wu very circumstantially, especially in his "Imperial Sacrifice," it is nevertheless difficult to get the thread of it. It seems as if the Emperor Wu is constantly trying new forms of worship. The reason for this difficulty may partly be found in later emendations of Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien's work. It seems to me, that the Emperor Wu, who is a most despotic ruler, also wishes to assert his power in the religious sphere. He will not have three principal gods as in the Ch'in Dynasty but only one,

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* VI 6 Shui-tê 水德. † Fêng-shan-shu, page 19. ‡ I, 111-112 二十八宿 and 二十四氣.

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the Yellow, and this god is both the god of Heaven, the god of the Earth, and the "great man." This trio adopted by former ages cannot be deviated from.

1. *Hwang-ti as God of Heaven.*—His name is T'ai-i * 太一, i.e., the one extremely great. According to the book *Huai-nan-tzŭ* † the author of which, Liu-an, died B.C. 122, T'ai-i is "the venerable (尊) god of Heaven." According to the historian Pan-ku's book, the *Han-shu*, the same is the case ‡. Here we are also informed that he is identical with the Polar star. Many of the gods towards the end of the Western Han Dynasty, and in the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty are placed in the firmament as stars. In the *Pai-hu-t'ung* this "god of Heaven" is not mentioned, but only the god of earth and the great man—the yellow emperor. The *Pai-hu-t'ung*, which was written at the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty is hostile towards the predecessor of the dynasty—the Western Han. Pan-ku mentions, however, in his history of the Western Han Dynasty, the "god of Heaven" as the Middle Emperor and "Yellow-Spirit." §

2. *Hwang-ti as God of the Earth.*—His name is Hou-t'u 后土¶. He is the god of the centre. The *Li-chi* remarks: "The middle belongs to the element earth, its god is Hou-t'u." In the *Pai-hu-t'ung* in the section on the five elements it is said: "Earth is the middle constellation, its emperor is Hwang-ti (the yellow emperor), its Shên (soul) is Hou-t'u, *i.e.*, the prince or princess of the earth).

3. *Hwang-ti as the Great Man* (the ideal emperor).—Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien begins his history with him. An attempt is also made to arrange genealogical tables of persons (both gods and men) with him as the first ancestor.

As already stated, Hwang-ti was, as god of heaven, deposed by the Eastern Han Dynasty, but he was allowed to remain as god of the earth and as "the great man." But it was done in such a way that earth was only reckoned as the fifth element, and Hwang-ti is not allowed to be the only existing "great man" any longer, but takes his place beside others. The *Pai-hu-t'ung* does not even class him amongst the three sovereigns (san-hwang 三皇) but only among the five emperors (wu-ti 五帝). ⁋

Both the Yellow Emperor who, when the power of the dynasty was at its zenith, was very generally worshipped, and Nü-wa

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* II 229 Tai-i 太一. † VI 108 Huai-nan-tzŭ 淮南子. ‡ VI 66 T'ai-i 泰一. § XII 111 Hwang-ling 黃靈. ¶ II 30 Hou-t'u 后土. ⁋ *Pai-hu-t'ung*, the chapter named Hao (號).

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女媧 (the woman or virgin Wa), with whom this was the case towards the end of the dynasty, are represented as "god-killers." Hwang-ti disposes of the principal god of the Chou Dynasty, who is trying to get a position in the Western Han such as he got in the Ch'in Dynasty, and Nü-wa slays the principal god of the Ch'in Dynasty, Kung-kung. About Hwang-ti and Ch'ih-yu it is said*: "During the reign of Hwang-ti the princes loved war and took pleasure in revolting. They made knives, spears and cross-bows and worried all men . . . During the battle Ch'ih-yu produced a dense fog, which the yellow emperor scattered by the help of the *chih-nan-ch'ê*, 指南車 (i.e. the chariot pointing towards the south). By this chariot may be meant the constellation "Charles'wain," which is also named "the imperial chariot."† Ch'ih yu's most important place as god is the south. The mention of the dense fog shows, that it is gods that are spoken about, not emperors.

About Nü-wa it is said: She melted together the stones of the five colours to repair the Heavens (after the havoc made by Kung-kung). She broke the feet of the tortoise and raised the four corners of the world. She killed the black dragon and saved the province of Chi 冀. She collected ashes of rush and stopped the rising water (this can also be translated: the water of immorality)‡. All this does not appear to have reference to the principal god of the Ch'in Dynasty, Kung-kung, but some of it, for instance, the breaking of the feet of the tortoise, may refer to the principal god of the Chou Dynasty. The feet of the tortoise indicate probably the four cardinal points: South-east, North-east, South-west and North-west,§ while the corners of the world raised by Nü-wa are East, South, West and North.

(*To be Continued.*)

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*IX 119 Ch'ih yu 蚩尤. †III 175 Ti-ch'ê 帝車. ‡II 254 Nü-wa-shih 女媧氏. §Compare Yüan-yüan's inscriptions (積古齋鐘鼎彝器), ch. 5, page 4.

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LE CONFUCEISME SOUS LA RÉPUBLIQUE 1911-1922.

PAR

R. P. HENRI DORÉ, S.J.

I. LA PRÉSIDENCE DE SUEN WEN 孫文 (29 XBRE 1911 À 13 FÉVRIER 1912.)

Un coup sensible porté au Confucéisme, à la fin des T'sing 清 fut l'abolition des examens classiques chinois, par le décret du 2 Septembre 1905, la 33e année du règne de Koang-Siu 光緒. Ce document capital marque une date mémorable dans l'histoire de l'Éducation en Chine, parce qu'il donna le coup de mort à cette vieille composition littéraire, dite "Wentchang" 文章 basée uniquement sur une certaine connaissance des anciens "Canoniques" chinois, et brisa la tenace opposition des lettrés à l'étude des sciences modernes.

A partir de cette époque, les Universités commencèrent à s'organiser méthodiquement, et l'Etat chinois, sans aller jusqu' à admettre officiellement leurs diplômes, les laissa vivre en paix ; dès lors commença à s'opérer dans les idées une réaction, lente encore, mais réelle et continue : finalement, une crise violente amena un changement de régime et Suen Wen 孫文 était élu Président de la Nouvelle République chinoise.

La Constitution provisoire de Nan-kin, 11 Mars 1912.

Quand la République fut déclarée, le 29 Décembre 1911, on pouvait s'attendre à ce qu'une réaction se produisît aussi sur le terrain religieux. De fait, au début, la Révolution rompit radicalement avec le passé. Dans l'Article VI de la Constitution provisoire de Nan-kin, 11 Mars 1912, on avait proclamé la plus complète liberté de conscience, et déclaré tous les cultes égaux devant la loi. "Tout homme a la liberté de croyance religieuse."*

中華民國臨時政府新法令

* Tchong-hoa-ming-kouo ling che tcheng fou sin fa ling. 6e fasc. p. 36. Commercial Press.

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Ce fut seulement deux ans plus tard, sous le gouvernement de Yuen Che-k'ai, le 1 Mai 1914, lors de la révision de la Constitution, qu'on ajouta la clause restrictive : " Dans les limites des lois." *

Ce changement subit ne faisait pas l'affaire des Confucéistes, qui avaient eu jusque-là une situation privilégiée, aussi ne tardèrent-ils pas à intriguer pour le rétablissement des honneurs rendus à Confucius. Bientôt les gouvernants se montrèrent plus réservés. Au gouverneur du Tché-kiang qui proposait la question, les Ministres de l'Intérieur et de l'Education répondirent : " En attendant qu'on ait légiféré sur les rites, continuez les sacrifices à Confucius comme par le passé ; mais sans costume spécial, en remplaçant les prostrations par de simples inclinations de corps."†

Cette décision fut transmise à toutes les provinces ; c'était, on le voit, une interprétation au moins surprenante de l'Article VI de la Constitution. C'était une exhortation à garder la cérémonie, mais à en atténuer le sens religieux. Les autorités nouvelles montrèrent en général peu de ferveur pour Confucius, cette première année de la République. En beaucoup de localités, les pagodes avaient été converties en écoles ou affectées à des usages profanes, et les temples de Confucius n'avaient pas été tous épargnés dans la tourmente. On conçoit que les lettrés vieux style, qui voyaient le pouvoir s'échapper de leurs mains, remuèrent ciel et terre pour rendre au culte de Confucius son ancien prestige. La réponse qu'ils venaient d'obtenir des nouveaux gouvernants, était déjà un premier succès.

II. La Présidence de Yuen Che-k'ai 袁世凱 et la Restauration, 1912-1916.

Le 12 Juillet 1912, se tenait à Pékin une " Conférence sur l'Education." Tsai Yuen-pei, qui était alors Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, proposa d'abolir dans les écoles, les cérémonies en l'honneur de Confucius. Il appuyait sa proposition sur deux excellentes raisons.

1° Confucius n'a point révélé de religion. Le culte que les Chinois lui rendent, est une forme de superstition. Il suffit que nous honorions le " Sage " comme les autres peuples honorent leurs philosophes.

2° La liberté religieuse est reconnue par la Constitution ; imposer dans les écoles le culte de Confucius, c'est violer la liberté religieuse.

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* Cf. id. Fascicule 70. Section Hien-fa p. 2.

† Tchong hoa ming kouo ling che sin fa ling. Fasc.7. p. 36. Etudes T. 153, p. 494.

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Ce langage était bien trop clair, aussi souleva-t-il de nombreuses protestations parmi les lettrés chinois, trop sectaires et trop hautains pour souffrir la tolérance religieuse.

Le 24 Septembre 1912, le Ministère de l'Education publia un règlement sur les cérémonies à accomplir dans les écoles.

L'Article I prescrit des cérémonies à accomplir dans les établissements scolaires, au jour anniversaire de la naissance de Confucius.

L'Article V porte : " La réunion pour les cérémonies d'anniversaires, parmi lesquelles figure celle de la naissance de Confucius, pourra être organisée par le Directeur de l'école ; mais les prostrations et les rites religieux n'y sont pas à propos."

L'Article VI traite de l'uniforme à porter au cours de la cérémonie.

L'Article VII dit : " Le détail des pratiques relatives à l'application de ce règlement, sera arrêté suivant l'occurrence, par le Directeur de l'école."

Donc, les cérémonies en l'honneur de Confucius, loin d'être abolies dans les écoles, sont maintenues et prescrites par une circulaire du Ministère de l'Education, seul, le cérémonial pour l'année courante est laissé à l'arbitraire du chef de l'établissement.

La plupart des Directeurs d'écoles, se contentèrent de réunir leurs élèves devant l'image ou la tablette de Confucius, et de leur faire exécuter trois inclinations. Un jour de congé termina la cérémonie.

Yuen Che-k'ai 袁世凱, alors Président provisoire, avait bien d'autres soucis, il laissait se dessiner le mouvement en faveur de la restauration du culte pour Confucius. Dès que la situation intérieure fut un peu raffermie, il fit plus favorable accueil aux réclamations des lettrés, d'autant plus que ce mouvement Confucéiste favorisait grandement son plan de réaction.

En homme prudent et avisé, il se contenta d'abord d'encourager les revendications de la secte ; puis sous couleur de Consultation de l'opinion, il leur laissa tout le loisir d'organiser leur campagne et de mettre en œuvre tous leurs moyens d'action.

Dès le 10 Janvier 1913, Monsieur Kou Hong-ming 辜鴻明, lettré très connu à Changhai et à Pékin, organisait des réunions de lettrés, et prononçait un grand discours, à la suite duquel il fut décidé, qu'on fonderait la Revue mensuelle de la Religion Confucéenne.*

* Cf. Nouvelles de Chine et Kiao-yu-pou-ling, 1 Fasç. N. 5. Ecole en Chine, Tome II. p.154.

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Le Referendum au pays.

Avant d'établir des règles fixes, le gouvernement voulut prendre l'avis du pays, du moins pour la forme, car le Président, qui se préparait à donner le coup de barre pour rétablir l'empire à son profit, avait besoin de se concilier les bonnes grâces des lettrés et déjà il travaillait à réintégrer les classiques confucéistes dans les programmes des écoles primaires et secondaires.*

Puis dans son mandat du 22 Juin 1913, avant même que les autorités provinciales, consultées sur l'à-propos du culte confucéen, n'eussent donné leur réponse, il profitait d'un télégramme envoyé par Yn Tchang-hen, 尹昌衡 pour faire connaître nettement ses intentions. " Yn Tchang-hen nous a adressé un télégramme, il nous prie d'ordonner que les écoles de toutes catégories, accomplissent comme précédemment le rite " Che-tien " (offrandes sacrificales en l'honneur de Confucius). Les idées exprimées par le pétitionnaire sont très droites et très nobles. Mais avant qu'il y soit donné suite, il est nécessaire d'attendre que toutes les provinces aient écrit leur réponse à Pékin. Ensuite, en tenant compte à la fois des idées républicaines et de celles de l'antiquité, sur les rites à observer en l'honneur de Confucius, on décidera ce qui convient et l'on fixera le détail des règles à suivre."†

La question n'était pas encore solutionnée, quand le 24 Septembre, trois jours avant l'anniversaire de la naissance de Confucius, le Ministre de l'Education expédia une circulaire télégraphique aux provinces, où apres diverses louanges décernées à Confucius, il était dit : " Les rites légaux en l'honneur de Confucius attendent encore leur règlement, le 28 de la VIII lune, (27 Septembre), étant le jour anniversaire de sa naissance, il faut faire de ce jour une date sacrée. En conséquence, il est enjoint à toutes les écoles de donner ce jour-là congé à leurs élèves, et de faire à l'école des cérémonies rituelles. Notre Ministère vous prie de communiquer aussitôt cet ordre à vos subordonnés, afin‡ que tous s'y conforment de la même manière."

Ici, c'est un ordre formel du gouvernment de Yuen Che k'ai, émané du Ministère de l'Education, avant même d'avoir reçu la réponse des autorités provinciales à la circulaire consultative.

De sa propre autorité, il s'arrogeait le pouvoir d'abroger la loi républicaine sur la liberté des cultes.

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* Ecole en Chine, Tome I, p. 98—101.

† Ecole en Chine, Tome II, p. 154—155.

‡ Revue Kiao-yu-tse-che 教育雜誌 Livre V, N. 5. Section Ki-che, p. 55. Le texte chinois se trouve : Ecole en Chine. Deuxième année. p. 155.

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Deux mois plus tard, le Président trouvait encore une magnifique occasion de manifester sa sympathie aux réclamations du parti confucéiste. Ling-i 衍聖, le descendant de Confucius et le chef-official de la famille, fit le voyage de Pékin, et, sur la présentation d'un rapport du gouverneur du Chan-tong, il fut introduit devant le Président Yuen et lui montra une grande quantité de documents relatifs au culte de Confucius, ainsi qu'aux dignités et charges conférées à ses descendants. En guise de réponse, le 26 Novembre 1913, parut un mandat présidentiel, où sont élevés jusqu' aux nués Confucius et sa doctrine. On y lisait en outre: "Les statuts honorifiques et cultuels, accordés par les souverains des précédentes dynasties, au descendant de Confucius et à ceux des Sages philosophes associés à son culte (dans le temple de Confucius), ont une grande importance. Le Ministère chargé de l'affaire étudiera avec soin le passé, et fera de vastes recherches dans les documents écrits; il prendra l'opinion de beaucoup de personnes et rédigera avec soin les règles à observer. Après quoi, il nous préparera un rapport et attendra nos ordres pour promulguer et exécuter ce qui aura été prescrit. . .

La doctrine de Confucius est comme le soleil et la lune qui croisent le ciel, comme les fleuves et les rivières qui fécondent la terre. Elle sert de modèle aux hommes de toutes les générations et est toujours neuve à travers mille siècles. Tous ceux qui ont le bon sens sont sous sa protection. Elle est tellement sainte et parfaite, qu'il n'y a plus de comparaison entre elle et les autres doctrines. Depuis plus de deux mille ans, le peuple chinois a pris l'habitude de suivre la doctrine de Confucius, et de le vénérer lui-même comme le saint suprême.

Maintenant que le nouvel Etat est fondé, il faut vénérer Confucius plus que jamais." *

Les "Sept Articles."

Un fait digne de remarque, c'est que, au temps même où le gouvernement provisoire prodiguait ses sympathies et ses faveurs pour hâter le rétablissement du culte de Confucius et assurer la prépondérance officielle du Confucéisme, des ordonnances désobligeantes étaient publiées pour enrayer le développement des écoles des Missions et entraver leur reconnaissance officielle, en compliquant insidieusement la procédure à suivre.

* Cf. Tong fang tsa-tche 東方雜誌. X° année N. 7. Section Tchong kouo ta che ki, p. 6. Echo de Chine, 30 Novembre et 1 Décembre 1913. Etudes, 51e année. N. 20 Mai 1914 p. 467—468.

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Plusieurs fois déjà, le gouvernement central avait eu l'occasion d'examiner la question de reconnaissance officielle à accorder aux écoles des missions. La réponse définitive fut provoquée de la façon suivante. Le pasteur anglais Hen Ping-kium, de la " China Inland Mission," s'était adressé au Commissaire des Affaires Etrangères de Wen-tcheou, 溫州 Monsieur Mao Koang-cheng 冒廣生 pour lui demander la reconnaissance officielle de quelques unes de ses écoles primaires du 1er degré. Monsieur Mao Koang-cheng adressa un Mémoire au Bureau général de l'avancement de l'instruction, qui le communiqua au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. Ce fut alors que parut le fameux règlement en 7 Articles, fixés par le Burcau de l'Instruction de Pékin; vu l'importance du document, nous en donnons ici la traduction *in extenso*.*

Règlement spécial en sept articles, que le Bureau des affaires scolaires de Pékin propose d'observer, à l'égard des écoles ouvertes par des membres de n'importe quelle société religieuse, et qui voudraient être officiellement reconnues.

1. Le nom de l'école ne portera pas l'indication : " Ouverte par telle société religieuse."
2. L'emplacement et les bâtiments de l'école seront nettement séparés de l'emplacement de la mission ; si par exception, ils étaient contigus aux bâtiments de la mission, il faudra que les maisons occupées par l'école, lui aient été ou prêtées ou louées.
3. Si pour les dépenses ordinaires, la mission venait en aide à l'école, les sommes ainsi versées seront regardées comme des dons faits à l'école ; et il ne faut pas souffrir que la mission (comme telle) se charge, en tout ou en partie, des dépenses ordinaires de l'école.
4. L'administration de l'école sera conduite suivant les ordonnances et les règlements du Ministère de l'Instruction, et en conformité avec les règlements de notre Bureau.
5. Les leçons données en classe ne toucheront pas aux sujets religieux, et il ne sera pas accompli d'actes de religion.
6. Pour l'admission des élèves, tous seront admis indistinctement (à quelque confession qu'ils appartiennent), et non pas uniquement ceux qui sont membres de la société religieuse.

* Cf. Texte et traduction, Ecole en Chine. Octobre 1915. p. 87 et 85 (84 Texte chinois).

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7. Relativement aux élèves qui ne font pas partie de la société religieuse, l'on ne devra pas les regarder d'un œil différent (aucune acception de personnes), ni les contraindre à entrer (dans la dite société.)

"L'Ostasiatischer Lloyd," fort bien renseigné alors, et tenant ses informations de bonne source, avait publié dans son N. du 8 Août 1913 (p. III) ce même règlement, mais en 8 Articles, c'est à dire dans son intégrité première, avant la correction, que le Ministère de l'Education, plutôt par politique que par bienveillance, crut devoir y faire, pour ne pas soulever l'indignation des intéressés. Le second des huit Articles était ainsi conçu :

Article 2e. Les fonctionnaires préposés aux examens et à l'administration, les représentants de l'Ecole et les personnes de toute condition qui tiennent un emploi officiel ne doivent se composer que de chinois. Cet article supprimé nous montre assez dans quel esprit fut élaboré ce règlement.

Le vaillant journal de Tien-tsin, le "Koang-i-pao" 廣義報 protesta énergiquement au nom de la justice et de la liberté, et montra le caractère déraisonnable et hostile des conditions imposées aux écoles des Missions.

Ces conditions, remarque l'auteur de l'article, sont ou inutiles, ou arbitraires, ou vexatoires, ou injustes : voire même tout cela à la fois. La seule chose que le gouvernement chinois puisse raisonnablement demander aux écoles de missions, comme à toutes les écoles, c'est que l'enseignement et l'éducation morale donnés aux enfants, soient de nature à faire d'eux des citoyens honnêtes, suffisamment éclairés pour le rôle qu'ils auront à jouer dans le monde, affectionnés à leur pays, et capables par leurs qualités, de lui rendre service et de lui faire honneur. Après cela, qu'importe le nom de l'école ? Qu'importe la séparation des locaux ? Qu'importe la séparation des bourses ?.. tout cela n'est qu'enfantillage et tracasserie. Il y a même une flagrante injustice, ou un grave défaut de logique, à vouloir interdire aux écoles de mission tout acte religieux, alors que dans les écolse officielles, on autorise, et on prescrit même de plus en plus, le culte et les sacrifices en l'honneur de Confucius. L'esprit de ce règlement est anti-religieux et anti-européen : c'est le monopole universitaire, au profit du Confucéisme.

Approbation officielle du culte de Confucius, 7 Février, 1914.

Le culte de Confucius fut définitivement approuvé par mandat présidentiel du 7 Février 1914. (7 Février de la 3e année de la République, dit le texte chinois). En voici le texte :

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" Notre Comité a jadis reçu l'ordre de mettre en délibération la question des rites officiels en l'honneur de Confucius. La délibération a eu lieu et il a été unanimement, en séance de comité, résolu ce qui suit : Attendu que le culte de Confucius est fixé par un ancien statut, qui a été observé pendant plusieurs dynasties successives, nous sommes tous d'avis qu'aux deux jours Ting (丁) de printemps et d'automne, suivant le calendrier des Hia (夏), jours fixés pour l'offrande de sacrifices à Confucius, l'on continue de lui offrir des sacrifices solennels, et que pour ce qui concerne les rites, costume à porter, objets à offrir, l'on suive exactement ce qui est prescrit pour le sacrifice au Ciel. Dans le temple de Confucius à Pékin, le président de la République sera le sacrificateur ; dans les autres localités, les sacrificateurs seront les plus hautes autorités des divers lieux. En cas d'empêchement insurmontable, ces autorités pourront, suivant l'occurrence, déléguer d'autres mandarins pour tenir leur place.

Au jour de l'ouverture des classes et de l'anniversaire de la naissance de Confucius chacun sera libre de suivre les anciens usages et d'offrir des sacrifices à Confucius, sans qu'il soit besoin de nouvelles règles. La vertu naturelle de Confucius et l'éclat de sa perfection sont tels, qu'il n'y en eut jamais de semblables parmi les hommes ; de plus, les offrandes et les sacrifices en son honneur n'ont rien perdu de leur nouveauté à travers les âges. La République qui en est encore à ses débuts, devant raisonnablement suivre l'antique tradition, il convient d'approuver que l'on agisse suivant l'avis du Conseil politique. Mandat."*

Ce décret restera comme une tache indélébile sur la mémoire du président Yuen Che-k'ai, son ambition trop hâtive trompa les espérances qu'on pouvait attendre de son gouvernement, et l'entraîna à des illégalités regrettables, à partir du jour où il se montra résolu, envers et contre tous, à se hisser sur le trône du Dragon.

Le cauteleux diplomate avait eu soin de faire précéder ce décret d'un autre mandat, de teneur filandreuse et embarrassée, contradictoire dans les termes. Cette pièce datée du 6 Février 1914, ne visait à rien moins, qu'à leurrer le parti adverse et prévenir le reproche inévitable de porter atteinte à la liberté de conscience, proclamée par la Charte provisoire. Il y affirmait avec insistance que le culte de Confucius et des " Anciens Saints " n'a rien de religieux, rien qui puisse blesser la conscience des diverses confessions religieuses : en un mot, qu'il a un caractère purement civil et sans

* Tcheng fou kong pao 政府公報 (fen lei wei-pien) Livre 4, Section Tsi t'ien 祭天 Tsi Kong 祭孔 (sacrifice au Ciel et à Confucius) p. 3.

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signification religieuse. Cette pièce au ton mielleux, n'avait pour but que d'aromatiser la coupe empoisonnée.* Le decret n'en reste pas moins intempestif.

1. Il s'appuie sur un faux principe : Le culte rendu à Confucius est purement civil et nullement religieux.

   Le decret commande des "Sacrifices solennels" en son honneur. Or le sacrifice est l'acte suprême du culte, l'acte d'adoration par excellence, qui ne peut être offert qu'au Souverain Maître de l'univers, à Dieu seul. Aucune créature ne saurait y avoir droit.

   Donc le faux-fuyant n'est ni logique ni loyal, le culte tel que l'entend le législateur est essentiellement religieux et interdit à tout chrétien, catholique ou protestant.

2. Il a le grave défaut d'être venu trop tôt et d'avoir mal engagé l'avenir. A cette date, 7 Février 1914, la Constitution provisoire était en refonte, pourquoi n'avoir pas laissé à la Constitution définitive le loisir de statuer sur un point si capital?

   De ce chef, le président mérite le reproche d'avoir agi avec précipitation et sous l'influence d'idées préconçues.

3. La Commission consultative, composée en majeure partie de créatures serviles du nouveau Dictateur, ne représentait pas les libres sentiments de la nation. La dissolution du Parlement et l'écrasement du parti "Kouo Ming Tang" enlevaient à peu près tout espoir pour la liberté des cultes ; alors Yuen Che-k'ai, se voyant maître absolu, enleva d'un trait de plume l'Article de la Constitution, garantissant la liberté de conscience.

4. Le subterfuge inventé est illusoire. (Faculté de se faire remplacer.) Aux termes du décret, la liberté de se donner un remplaçant n'est concédée qu'au fonctionnaire principal, à qui incombe la charge de sacrifier, c'est à dire à la première autorité locale, et dans le cas seulement d'un empêchement insurmontable. Les fonctionnaires inférieurs, les mandarins subalternes, doivent assister à la cérémonie, selon la coutume et chacun sait que la Chine est le pays du monde, où les inférieurs sont moralement le moins libres d'agir autrement que leurs supérieurs. C'est donc une loi tyrannique au premier chef.

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* Cf. Tong fang tsa-tche. Liv. X. N. 0 Section Tchong kouo ta che ki p. 23. Traduction française. Cf. Ecole en Chine 11 vol. p. 158—160.

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5. La plus élémentaire notion de l'Histoire chinoise eût dû le mettre en garde contre cette faute politique.

Qui ne sait que Kang-hi s'était déjà buté au Christianisme deux siècles auparavant, et sur ce même point, dans la fameuse Question des Rites ?

Lui aussi prétendait que le culte de Confucius et celui des ancêtres, étaient des rites purement civils et nullement religieux.

Les décisions de l'Eglise catholique avaient condamné expressément cette interprétation fautive, et l'événement avait fait assez de bruit en Chine, pour que le Président pût s'en souvenir et éviter de rouvrir le conflit.

6. Le décret ferme à tous les chrétiens l'entrée dans les carrières officielles ; en sacrifiant à Confucius, ils devraient immoler sur le même autel, leur liberté, leur conscience et leur foi.

7. Assimiler Confucius au Ciel, n'est-ce pas de la démence ?

Quelques jours après ce décret, le 11 Février, le Comité politique décide que les temples de Confucius seront réparés et appliqués à leur destination première.

L'ère triomphale du Confucéisme, 1914-1916. Le Sacrifice offert à Confucius par le Président.

Le sacrifice offert le 28 Septembre 1914, dans le temple de Confucius à Pékin, fut comme le couronnement de la dévotion de Yuen Che-k'ai pour Confucius, ou plus justement, le préliminaire de son ascension sur le trône impérial. Le mandat annonçant cet événement, est daté du 25 Septembre 1914. Après un résumé historique du culte de Confucius depuis les Han, (206 av. J. C.), il déplore l'état d'abandon où sont tombés ses temples et son culte. Le seul remède à la décadence de la moralité est le retour à la doctrine de Confucius.

"En conséquence, nous Grand Président, à la tête des fonctionnaires, accomplirons les rites du sacrifice, le 28 Septembre de la présente année.." etc.*

Le Rituel du Sacrifice à Confucius.

Ce Rituel comprend deux parties : la première traite des Sacrifices offerts dans le temple de Confucius à Pékin, par le Président de la République ou par son Représentant ; la seconde

* Ecole en Chine, Tome II, p. 163, 164. Texte du décret.

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concerne les Sacrifices offerts dans les provinces, par les gouverneurs, les intendants et les sous-préfets. Il est aussi question dans cette seconde partie, de la participation des chefs d'établissements scolaires, des professeurs et des élèves.

Des professeurs et des élèves formés aux cérémonies, devront prendre part aux sacrifices offerts à Confucius par les gouverneurs, les intendants et les sous-préfets.

Des fonctionnaires subalternes seront délégués pour les offrandes sacrificales aux Anciens Sages du temple de Confucius.*

Des directeurs d'écoles pourront aussi exercer cette fonction.

Des professeurs d'écoles pourront "offrir les sacrifices aux associés des cinq vénérables saints ancêtres de Confucius."

Voilà pour la répartition des rôles.

Le Bureau des Rites redigea un long mémoire, pour décrire l'origine du Rituel et l'adressa au premier ministre Siu Che-tchang 徐世昌. Celui-ci composa un Rapport, contenant le Mémoire du Bureau des Rites et le Mandat du 7 Février, prescrivant en l'honneur de Confucius des "Sacrifices qui égalent par leur solennité le Sacrifice au Ciel."

Le Rapport de Siu Che-tchang s'occupe ensuite des rites du sacrifice. Il se nommera Se, et non plus Che-tien ou Che-tsai, comme l'appelaient les anciens. Il règle le nombre des vases pour les offrandes sacrificales, les pantomimes, l'offrande des herbes marinées, le mode d'oblation du vin; il supprime l'offrande de l'encens et la combustion du boeuf, comme ne figurant pas dans le Livre des Rites. Enfin le document décrète que le temple de la Littérature se nommera désormais "Kong-tse-miao" 孔子廟 Temple de Confucius. Il règle les détails du culte sacrifical des Sages associés de Confucius dans son temple, de ses cinq ancêtres et de leurs associés dans le temple ancestral.

Comme on le voir, c'est Siu Che-tchang, actuellement Président de la République chinoise (1919), qui joua un rôle de tout premier ordre dans la campagne d'apothéose du Confucéisme en 1914. Sa politique présente n'a donc pas lieu de nous étonner.

A la fin du Rapport ministériel, une sorte de Postscriptum plutôt railleur, concerne les sacrifices à Confucius dans les écoles : "Si cela leur semble bon, il sera libre aux gens de les accomplir. En les accomplissant, ils feront voir que les statuts du culte Confucéen, ont toute leur origine dans la sincérité de leur cœur, et le religieux attachement qu'ils portent à Confucius."†

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* Recherches sur les Superstitions. Tome XIII. (B) Les 144 Sages du Temple de Confucius. p. 113 à 257.

† Tchong hoa ming kouo sin fa ling. Fas. 75. p. 2. Fas. 82. p. 29.

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L'année 1915. Culte de Confucius dans son pays natal.

Un décret du 18 Janvier 1915, régla tous les détails du culte sur le tombeau de Confucius à Kiue-li 闕里 au Chantong 山東: distinctions héréditaires, charges héréditaires, frais de sacrifices, officiers du temple de Confucius, bosquets du tombeau, temples, curie du descendant de Confucius.

Le duc Kong 孔 était établi Sacrificateur suprême, ayant sous lui huit "prêtres" de première classe, vingt-deux de deuxième et quarante fonctionnaires inférieurs. Le temple de Confucius possède un domaine de 360,000 arpents de terre.*

L'Article VII de la Convention porte: "Les revenus de ces terres, dites Terres des sacrifices, seront perçus par le duc Kong 孔; ordre est donné aux autorités de lui prêter protection en cette affaire."—L'Article VI spécifie que les dépenses ordinaires des sacrifices, seront payées par le duc descendant de Confucius, sur les sommes provenant des revenus des terres, qui appartenaient primitivement à la famille King, et qu'on appelle: "Terres des Sacrifices."†

Le 11 Mars, le Bureau des Rites fixe les morceaux de musique, qui doivent être exécutés pendant les sacrifices à Confucius.‡

Toute cette année 1915 vit le triomphe des rites superstitieux des anciennes dynasties: c'était la préparation prochaine à ceindre la couronne impériale.

Le 17 Mars, le premier ministre Siu Che-tchang offre solennellement un grand Sacrifice à Confucius, au nom du Président de la République.

Le 2 Mai, les officiers des Ministères de la Guerre et de la Marine et ceux d'autres Bureaux militaires, prêtent serment de fidélité dans la pagode des dieux de la Guerre, Koan Kong et Yo Fei (關公岳飛).

Le 15 du même mois, le vice-ministre de la Marine, Monsieur Li Houo, un protestant, est mis en disponibilité, parce qu'il avait cru devoir se dispenser de prêter serment dans une pagode, contrairement à sa conscience et à ses croyances. Yuen Che-k'ai montrait ainsi comment il comprenait la liberté religieuse.

Le 4 Octobre, des cérémonies superstitieuses étaient commandées à tous les militaires, au temple de la Guerre, en l'honneur des "vingt quatre officiers modèles," canonisés vers la fin de l'année 1914.¶ En beaucoup d'endroits, les soldats chrétiens ne purent

* L'arpent ou "meou" vaut 6 ares 144 centiares, d'apres la loi du 31 mars 1914.
† Tchong hoa ming kouo fa sin ling. Fas. 80, Sect. 13, P. 1.
‡ Calendrier annuaire de l'observatoire de Zikawei, Année 1915.
¶ Recherches sur les Superstitions, Tome XII, p. 1168—1179.

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se dispenser d'un acte qui répugnait à leur conscience, dans d'autres, ils furent pour ce fait chassés de l'armée, plusieurs même furent menacés d'être fusillés. Grâce à l'intervention de Monsieur Conty, Ministre de France a Pékin, qui fit energiquement remarquer que ces actes étaient une violation du traité de Tientsin, le Président de la République a bien voulu signer un amendement, qui exempte les soldats chrétiens de la prestation du serment, devant les statues de Koan Kong et de Yo Fei, dans le temple du Dieu de la guerre, Ou-miao 武廟.

Voici le passage important de cet amendement adressé au Président par l'Etat Major Général des Armées de Terre et de Mer : Projet de modification du Règlement concernant la prestation de serment par les militaires.

" Nous considérons actuellement qu'il pourrait y avoir des inconvénients, à maintenir pour les militaires convertis à la religion (chrétienne) la clause du Règlement fixant le local où doit être prêté le serment.

En conséquence, nous nous proposons de l'amender comme il suit : " Les militaires de cette catégorie (les chrétiens), qui devront prêter le serment accompliront cette cérémonie, à Pékin, au Temple du Ciel ; dans les provinces, à la résidence de leur chef et séparément des autres." Si Votre Excellence veut bien approuver le texte de l'amendement projeté, nous le notifierons respectueusement aux Ministères de la Guerre et de la Marine, qui seront chargés de veiller à son observation.

La modification fut approuvée et la dispense pour les Chrétiens de faire le serment de fidélité devant la statue du Dieu de la Guerre fut signée et munie du sceau du Président. Elle apparut à l'Officiel le 2 novembre 1915.*

Quelques Européens se sont imaginés que la question était tranchée et la liberté de conscience assurée : sur le papier, " à moitié," dans la réalité, "aucunement."

Je dis : "sur le papier à moitié," parce que dans l'amendement il n'est fait mention que de la prestation du serment, cérémonie spéciale, et il n'est point parlé (on s'en garde bien !) des cérémonies superstitieuses, qui se font chaque année, en dehors de la prestation du serment, dans la pagode du Dieu de la Guerre Koan Kong, de son associé Yo Fei et des 24 militaires modèles, introduits dans ce temple par Yuen Che-k'ai. Or, chaque année tous les soldats sont conduits par leurs chefs au susdit temple, et doivent assister et prendre part aux rites superstitieux, adoptés

* Le Texte chinois se trouve dans " Missions de la Chine et du Japon " par Planchet, année 1916, p. 483, 484.

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pour le culte de Koan Kong et autres. Peut-être que dans les villes fréquentées par de nombreux Européens, dans les ports ouverts et quelques autres cités progressistes, les officiers se montrent plus conciliants, mais dans l'intérieur, l'assistance de tous les soldats est de rigueur. J'en ai été moi-même témoin, plusieurs fois ; les chefs prétextent des ordres formels de leurs généraux et se montrent intraitables pour accorder la dispense aux chrétiens. Donc en réalité la liberté de conscience est annulée, avant comme après l'amendement.

Le 6 Octobre, Sacrifices à Confucius à l'occasion du 2466e anniversaire de sa naissance. Des ordres furent donnés à toutes les autorités et à tous les Directeurs d'écoles d'accomplir les rites d'usage. A Pékin, la cérémonie revêt un caractère officiel marqué. Environ 2,000 personnes sont réunies dans la grande salle de la Société Confucéenne. Le Président et d'autres hauts fonctionnaires sont représentés ; les céremonies sont accomplies en vieux costumes chinois, et selon toutes les exigences de l'antique Rituel, complété et adopté par le gouvernement de l'époque.*

Dans toutes les villes de l'empire, ces cérémonies sacrificales se firent avec une extraordinaire solennité.

Dans son N. du 12 Octobre, le North China Daily News publiait une lettre de son correspondant de Ou-tchang 武昌, qui racontait que 300 personnages, fonctionnaires, professeurs d'écoles officielles etc . étaient allés en corps, offrir le sacrifice à Confucius. Il terminait par la remarque suivante : " La brusque façon avec laquelle on se rejette dans les pratiques du passé, avec laquelle on les dépasse même, a quelque chose de presque alarmant." Cette dernière remarque peint au naturel les sentiments de tous les gens réfléchis.

III. La Présidence de Li Yuen-hong 黎元洪 1916-1917.

Le Vote Pour La Liberté Religieuse.

Depuis quelque temps déjà, le Confucéisme était devenu une question brûlante, mais la tentative infructueuse de la Restauration de l'Empire et la mort du prétendant, rendirent courage à l'opposition.

Le 30 Août Louo Yong-chao déposait sur le bureau de la chambre, une proposition de loi tendant à l'abolition des sacrifices officiels au Ciel et à Confucius. La proposition était ainsi motivée : 1. Dans une république, le spirituel et le civil doivent être séparés. 2. Les sacrifices ont servi à Yuen Che-k'ai d'échelons

* Ecole en Chine, Tome I, page 191.

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au trône impérial. 3. Ils sont un obstacle à l'entrée des chrétiens dans les carrières officielles.

La lutte était engagée et devait se poursuivre.

Le 24 Septembre les sacrifices à Confucius eurent lieu encore avec la sanction du Président, cependant une mutation assez significative fut faite au rituel. Sur la demande de Monsieur Liu Kong-wang, gouverneur civil du Tché-kiang, et malgré les protestations de Kang Yeou-wei 康有爲, Monsieur Suen Hong-i, Ministre de l'Intérieur, a télégraphié aux autorités provinciales de remplacer les prostrations (K'o-teou) rituelles, par des " inclinations de corps."

Les débats de Septembre et la victoire finale.

A partir du 5 Septembre, les deux chambres se réunirent deux fois la semaine pour discuter sur la Constitution permanente.

Trois articles du projet de Constitution donnèrent lieu à de vives discussions sur le Confucéisme.

1. L'Article IV garantissant l'égalité de tous les citoyens, sans distinction de race, ni de religion.
2. L'Article XI relatif à la liberté de conscience.
3. Le paragraphe 2 additionnel, à l'article IC qui porte: " L'éducation nationale met la doctrine de Confucius à la base de la morale individuelle."

Le 8 Septembre, les parlementaires Confucéistes proposèrent l'adoption du Confucéisme comme religion nationale, dont les Sacrifices au Ciel et à Confucius seraient les principaux actes cultuels. Ils n'obtinrent pas gain de cause. Après des discussions orageuses, le président de la commission essaya d'escamoter le vote, le 27 Septembre, en disant qu'après tout, ce n'était là qu'une " phrase." La minorité anti-confucéiste, qui y voyait au contraire la ruine de la liberté, protesta vivement et souleva une tempête parlementaire. L'article mis aux votes, obtint 377 voix pour et 200 contre. Il fallait 384 suffrages, c'est à dire les 2/3 des voix, pour que le paragraphe passât. L'affaire fut donc renvoyée à une troisième lecture et confiée à une commission spéciale. Entre temps, les opposants se fortifiaient et faisaient bloc. Il y eut de grands meetings à Tien-tsin, où catholiques, protestants, musulmans, se coalisèrent pour la liberté, et lorsqu'en Janvier 1917 la question du Confucéisme comme religion d'Etat, fut de nouveau posée devant les Chambres, il y eut 13,000 dépêches reçues à ce sujet. Le résultat fut la formation d'un parti anti-confucéiste assez fort pour faire échouer le projet. Il était rejeté derechef le 18 Jan. par 264 voix contre 255.

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Finalement le 14 Mai, l'Article XI de la Constitution fut voté par 483 voix sur 598 présents. Il est ainsi conçu : "Les citoyens de la République chinoise ont la liberté, soit d'honorer Confucius, soit de suivre une autre croyance religieuse, dans les limites des lois."

Texte un peu hybride, qui n'engageait guère le Gouvernement.

Dès que l'amendement du 14 Mai fut notifié par la presse, les membres de la société Confucéenne du Kiang-sou et du Tché-kiang, adressèrent au Président Li Yuen-hong et aux deux chambres, un télégramme où ils ne cachaient pas leur mauvaise humeur:

"Tous les Etats ont une religion ; cependant la chambre vient de voter en seconde lecture un article où il y a ces quatre caractères : Sin yn tsong-kiao (choix d'une croyance religieuse). Cet article abolit la religion de Confucius, et par le fait, la Chine devenant un Etat sans religion, s'engage dans une voie qui la conduira à sa perte." *

Les troubles de la Restauration en Juillet détournèrent un peu l'attention des partisans de Confucius.

Le 2 Juillet le Président Li s'échappait de son palais et se réfugiait à la légation du Japon, pendant que sa famille trouvait asile à la légation de France. Le même jour le président démissionnaire envoyait le sceau officiel à Toan Ki-joei, 段祺瑞, le priant de le remettre au vice-président Fong Kouo-tchang. Ce dernier prenait la présidence le 1 Août 1917.

IV. La Présidence de Fong Kouo-tchang 馮國璋 (1er Août 1917 au 4 Septembre 1918.)

Le "Statu Quo."

Malgré le demi-succès des associations anti-confucéistes, il n'en reste pas moins certain qu'en vertu de la force acquise, le culte de Confucius continua à être pratiquement le culte national. Même une loi reste, dans ces conditions, condamnée à devenir lettre morte. C'est ce qui arriva sous le gouvernement éphémère de Fong Kouo-tchang.

Théoriquement, la liberté de conscience resta consignée sur la charte constitutionnelle, pratiquement les sacrifices en l'honneur de Confucius dans ses temples, les cérémonies rituelles dans les écoles, continuèrent comme par le passé, ni plus ni moins.

* Echo de Chine, Mai 1917. Les Missions de Chine et du Japon, III année, J. M. Planchet, p. 427, 428.

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Le 27 Septembre 1917, nous voyons le Président en personne offrir les sacrifices d'automne au temple de Confucius à Pékin, suivant les vieux rites chinois, et des ordres continuent à être expédiés dans les provinces, pour maintenir ces usages dans toutes les villes de l'empire et dans tous les établissements scolaires. En résumé, c'est une liberté de nom, mais la pression morale lui enlève toute valeur réelle, l'ancienne législation suit son cours. Les lettrés les plus en vue de la Jeune Chine, se joignent aux personnages les plus influents et à de nombreux généraux d'armée, pour promouvoir le culte du philosophe chinois, et réclamer impérieusement que le jour anniversaire de sa naissance soit célébré comme une fête nationale. Avec l'avènement de Siu Che-tchang à la présidence, le Confucéisme va reprendre tous ses avantages, et chercher à étouffer la dernière lueur de liberté religieuse dans les écoles gouvernementales.*

V. La Présidence de Siu Che-tchang 徐世昌

(4 Septembre 1918.)

Abrogation Pratique de la Liberté de Conscience.

Personnellement, Siu Che-tchang est un confucéiste avéré, un chauvin de la secte, il ne pouvait manquer d'appuyer de toute son autorité le projet ci-dessus mentionné. Aussi dès le 20 Septembre 1918, la loi était adoptée au Sénat en deuxième et troisième lecture, et la chambre des Députés, dans sa séance du 26 Septembre sanctionnait sans discussion le vote du Sénat. Enfin un décret présidentiel, paru à l'Officiel le 28 Septembre et contresigné de tous les Ministres, même de ceux qui venaient de demander un Nonce à Rome ! a promulgué la loi adoptant comme fête nationale le jour anniversaire de la sainte naissance de Confucius. Ce jour-là un congé devra être accordé, on fera les offrandes rituelles, le drapeau national sera arboré et on pavoisera.

Circulaire Ministerielle pour la Fête Anniversaire de Confucius.

Restait à déterminer les détails des rites à observer dans cette circonstance ; le Ministère de l'Intérieur et le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique arrêtèrent de concert le règlement suivant en 5 Articles :

1. Tous les étudiants des écoles devront se rendre au temple de Confucius, pour accomplir les cérémonies ordinaires ;

* Calendriers Annuaires de l'Observatoire de Zikawei. Ecole en Chine, Tom. II, p. 166, 167. Etudes 20 Novembre 1917, p. 504 et suiv. Les Missions de Chine et du Japon, III Année, p. 427, 428.

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ils organiseront une procession aux flambeaux, soit de jour soit de nuit.

2. Tous les Corps constitués devront se rendre au temple de Confucius, pour lui témoigner des marques de respect.
3. Tous les fonctionnaires, les membres de tous les Corps constitués et les élèves des écoles, devront désormais envoyer des représentants au Temple de Confucius et honorer le Grand Sage par des discours.
4. Ce jour-là, tous les Corps constitués, les écoles, les établissements publics devront arborer le drapeau national et illuminer.
5. Ce même jour sera observé comme fête nationale par les écoles et les fonctionnaires.

Pratiquement c'était sonner le glas de la liberté religieuse, et l'abrogation discrète de l'amendement, voté en faveur de la liberté de conscience, le 14 Mai 1917.

Aussi voit-on pleuvoir les ordres gouvernementaux adressés aux Ministères, aux autorités provinciales, aux mandarins subalternes, pour leur enjoindre de se conformer avec diligence aux rites d'usage en l'honneur de Confucius.

Le 3 Janvier 1919, un décret présidentiel introduisit dans le temple de Confucius deux lettrés vieux-style, du début des T'sing 清 Yen Yuen 顏元 et Li Kong, 李塨 dont le principal titre aux honneurs posthumes, paraît bien être leur attachement notoire aux anciennes méthodes.*

Le gouvernement chinois garde toujours la tendance bien marquée des anciens jours : Viser à empêcher le prosélytisme religieux. Il est hanté par la peur que les élèves des écoles tenues par les étrangers, laïques, protestants ou catholiques, soient tentés de suivre la religion de leurs maîtres. Ce récent document publié par les journaux de Pékin en 1921, nous prouvera qu'il prend toutes les mesures pour arriver à son but. Voici un extrait du journal pékinois.

" En vue de se renseigner sur les collèges et écoles se trouvant dans l'intérieur de la Chine, dont la plupart ont été établis par les missionnaires étrangers sans l'approbation et à l'insu des autorités chinoises, le Ministre de l'Education a redigé les règlements suivants :

1. Les écoles et les collèges chrétiens étrangers doivent se faire enregistrer au Kiao-yu-pou 教育部, conformément aux lois existantes.

* Les Missions de Chine et du Japon, III Annee, p. 429-430.

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2. Tous les établissements éducationnels, chrétiens et étrangers, seront considérés comme des institutions privées. Les mots "Se li 私立" ou établissements privés, doivent être placés avant le nom de telles institutions.

3. Les étudiants des écoles moyennes établies par les missionnaires étrangers, doivent étudier les livres reconnus et approuvés par le Kiao Yu Pou.

4. Le même traitement doit être accordé aux étudiants chrétiens et aux étudiants non-chrétiens par les missionnaires et les professeurs étrangers.

5. Les missionnaires étrangers devraient permettre à leurs étudiants de choisir eux-mêmes leur religion, sans y intervenir.

6. L'enregistrement officiel ne sera pas accordé aux missionnaires qui violent les présents règlements."*

Pour attendre plus sûrement son but, le Gouvernement actuel use d'une double tactique. D'abord, il se montre très difficile et refuse autant qu'il le peut, toutes les fois qu'il le peut, l'approbation officielle des établissements privés et la reconnaissance officielle des diplômés de fin d'études. Ensuite, il vise à rendre très-pénible, sinon impossible, la vie des étudiants vraiment chrétiens, dans les écoles gouvernementales, pour la collation des diplômés. Cette façon d'agir devra nécessairement réduire à un très petit nombre, les chrétiens diplômés, et par le fait, fermer aux élèves chrétiens tout accès aux charges officielles dans l'administration du pays.

Disons quelques mots de cette tactique désobligeante.

1. Difficultés suscitées pour l'approbation des établissements privés.

Les élèves chrétiens ne peuvent guère fréquenter les écoles officielles sans courir les plus grands risques, au point de vue de la foi et des moeurs, il nous faut donc absolument des écoles où les étudiants puissent suivre les programmes officiels, sans danger pour leurs croyances et pour le salut de leur âme. En un mot, il nous faut des "écoles normales" pour former des maîtres chrétiens, instruits et dévoués, perles précieuses, très-rares en Chine !

De plus, ces maîtres chrétiens devront avoir leur diplôme, approuvé officiellement par le Bureau de l'Instruction Publique.

* Bulletin catholique de Pékin, année 1921, p. 228. (N. 94 Juin).

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Car les lettrés attendent impatiemment le jour où ils pourront exiger que tous les professeurs de nos écoles soient diplômés. Plusieurs règlements, édictés par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, ont déjà été publiés dans les provinces, pour enjoindre aux autorités locales, de mettre ce programme en pratique dans le plus bref délai, dès que le nombre des diplòmés suffira pour fournir des professeurs à toutes les écoles publiques.

C'est donc une question de temps, le principe est posé d'une façon immuable, et bientôt le programme sera appliqué dans la plupart des provinces.

La première tactique du gouvernement consiste donc à refuser l'autorisation officielle aux diplômes délivrés dans les écoles, collèges et universités non-gouvernementales. Sans diplôme reconnu par le gouvernement, les maîtres ne pourront pas enseigner, et sans maîtres, plus d'écoles !

Je sais que de la coupe aux lèvres l'espace est grand, mais il n'en reste pas moins vrai que dans leur pensée, les adversaires des écoles catholiques et protestantes ont imaginé ce moyen d'entraver le progrès religieux. Il suffira pour s'en convaincre, de lire dans le Bulletin catholique de Pékin, 1920, le récit des pénibles négociations engagées avec le Bureau de l'Education de Pékin et le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, lors de l'approbation de l'école normale des Frères Maristes de Chala, à la capitale.* Les démarches ont duré une année entière ; le Bureau de l'Instruction ne voulait pas accorder l'approbation demandée, cela ressort clairement, tant des rapports écrits que des relations verbales.

2. Difficultés suscitées aux étudiants chrétiens dans les écoles gouvernementales.

Qui l'aurait cru ? par une inconséquence étrange, ces hommes qui se glorifient de n'avoir aucune religion, sont les plus ardents à faire revivre le culte religieux de leurs ancêtres, dans le seul but de ralentir les succès des écoles confessionelles.

Ecoutons ce que disent ces fauteurs de la ligue anti-chrétienne des "Sans religion :" "La différence essentielle entre nous et les Européens, est que notre morale est faite uniquement pour le monde présent et fait abstraction de tout surnaturel.

Nous vivons pour ce monde, nous n'attendons de récompense qu'en ce monde, nous rejetons toute idée d'un Dieu créateur et rémunérateur . . ayant un autre passé historique et une autre

* Bulletin catholique de Pékin, 1920, p. 53 à 58—98 à 102.

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forme de civilisation que les peuples d'Europe et d'Amérique, tenons à notre morale nationale, à la morale pour le monde présent ; gardons-nous bien de transplanter chez nous la morale étrangère, la morale de l'autre monde, qui ne s'accommoderait pas avec la nòtre."*

Ces mêmes hommes qui se piquent d'athéisme remettent en honneur toutes les vieilleries superstitieuses des anciens temps, dans le dessein d'effrayer les consciences chrétiennes et de tenir à distance les indésirables. Ils immolent un boeuf, une chèvre, un porc à Confucius ; une chèvre et un porc à ses quatre associés et aux douze Parangons du Temple de la " Grande Perfection ;" une chèvre et un porc aux 79 anciens sages et aux 77 anciens lettrés ; ils invitent l'âme de Confucius à descendre sur sa tablette pour recevoir les sacrifices, " Ying-chen " 迎神 ; une hymne est chantée pour cette cérémonie ; suit une triple offrande du sang et du poil des victimes, le bassin est déposé sur la table des offrandes, l'oblation de la pièce de soie brûlée en holocauste avec d'autres offrandes. Vient ensuite l'Oraison Sacrificale ou la prière du sacrifice en l'honneur du Très-saint et Premier Maître Confucius, qui n'eut jamais d'égal en ce monde et dont les vertus sont comparables à celles du Ciel ! ! De tels éloges meritent bien une récompense, aussi le Sacrificateur, après oblation, reçoit le " vin du bonheur " et les " viandes de la félicité," comme représentant du peuple. L'esprit de Confucius, après avoir goûté tous ces compliments, retourne dans les régions supérieures d'où il était venu et on lui fait la conduite en chantant l'hymne du départ.

Voilà les gens qui nous reprochent d'honorer un Dieu et d'avoir un culte religieux, ils ressuscitent toutes ces cérémonies périmées pour nous tenir à l'écart de leurs collèges, pour nous interdire l'accès des carrières officielles. Et qu'on n'aille pas dire que les chrétiens ne sont pas obligés par la loi de se plier à ces exigences illégitimes ; peut-être dans quelques villes des côtes, dans quelques ports ouverts, les autorités se montreront tolérantes, mais dans tout l'intérieur des provinces, il y a une nécessité morale pour les élèves des écoles et pour les fonctionnaires de l'Etat de subir

*Extraits du "Sieou cheng yao i" 修身要義, manuel de morale actuellement en usage dans les écoles moyennes et lycées chinois.

Remarquons ici ces expressions : " Nous avons un autre passé historique, une autre civilisation que les peuples d'Europe et d'Amérique ". . . C'est un écho affaibli des fameux placards de 1890, œuvre des grands lettrés de la vieille Chine : " Nous, descendants des saints et des Sages, nous chinois, disciples de Confucius et de Mong-tse, oserions-nous nous abaisser, jusqu'à suivre la religion fondée par un étranger Barbare nommé Jésus. . ! ? " Cette phrase se passe de commentaire.

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les injonctions de leurs supérieurs hiérarchiques, sous peine d'être mis en disponibilité, comme le vice-ministre de la Marine, Monsieur Li Houo, qui fut privé de ses fonctions, pour avoir mis sa foi et sa conscience au-dessus de son intérêt. Les lettrés contemporains, comme les lettrés vieux style du temps de Kang-hi se posent en patriotes, mais en patriotes mal éclairés, et mettent dans la main du vieux Confucius, l'étendard du xénophobisme.

Pour toutes ces superstitions d'antan qu'ils viennent de renouveler, ne les taxons point d'ignorance et de naïveté, ils ne sont ni ignorants, ni naïfs, ils comprennent parfaitement le côté déraisonnable de leur conduite, ils n'ignorent point que le sacrifice n'est pas seulement une cérémonie civile, mais un acte religieux, et le plus solennel des actes religieux, puisqu'il ne peut être offert qu'au souverain maître des mondes, ou du moins, selon leur mentalité, à un être surhumain. Ce crime de lèse-civilisation, ces pratiques superstitieuses réprouvées par toute l'élite intellectuelle de l'humanité, pourquoi nos lettrés républicains, progressistes, s'acharnent-ils tant à les maintenir en Chine ? Pour faire "une Chine aux Chinois," pour écarter toute influence étrangère, pour signaler comme "des serpents venimeux, comme le chancre de la Chine,"* les étrangers et surtout les missionnaires, qui par leurs écoles, leurs collèges infusent dans les masses populaires des croyances contraires aux idées nationales. Se voyant pénétrés de toutes parts, constatant avec un dépit visible les progrès annuels des Etablissements scolaires de toute nationalité, ils se réfugient dans leur dernier retranchement, dans le donjon de la forteresse, et accumulent toutes leurs batteries pour le défendre. Ce donjon jusqu'ici inexpugnable, c'est le Culte officiel de Confucius, le plus formidable obstacle à la liberté de conscience. Celui-là méritera justement d'être appelé le Libérateur de la Chine, qui renversera et rasera à jamais cette redoute de la servitude et de la tyrannie.

* Paroles de Li Hong-tchang 李鴻章.

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MINTED SHANTUNG COINS

BY

A. M. TRACEY WOODWARD, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S

For reasons of simplicity the above title has been condensed to three words, it should really have been "The Minted Copper Coins of Shantung under Manchu rule." But what matters a title? or what's in a name? as Shakespeare says, unless at the bottom of a cheque on a good banking account! The province of Shantung has never issued any gold or silver coins, so far as numismatists have been able to ascertain, and furthermore, although the coinage from that province consists of copper and/or bronze pieces, it would seem that even these were confined to 10-CASH pieces; no smaller or higher denominations have thus far been discovered. But in these very ten-cash pieces, the province is rich in its larger number of rarities, compared to the total number of varieties known. For a long time, I have made strenuous efforts to deeply specialize in the coins of that province, and have found it highly interesting, not that the material is plentiful, quite the contrary, but that very scantiness is the incentive which prompts us to search for excessively rare coins, among coins which in themselves are by no means common. This is not an exaggeration, for, among the two million coppers I recently examined, I have discovered that the correct proportion of Shantung pieces found in every ten thousand, is only about five. From such poor material have my researches been conducted, but the old aphorism that 'He who seeks, finds,' holds good here, as indeed it does generally throughout life. The charm that lures one on is the great blessing of having to investigate among 10-cash pieces only made under the Manchus, strictly speaking, under the Emperor Kwang Hsü only; the province has no republican

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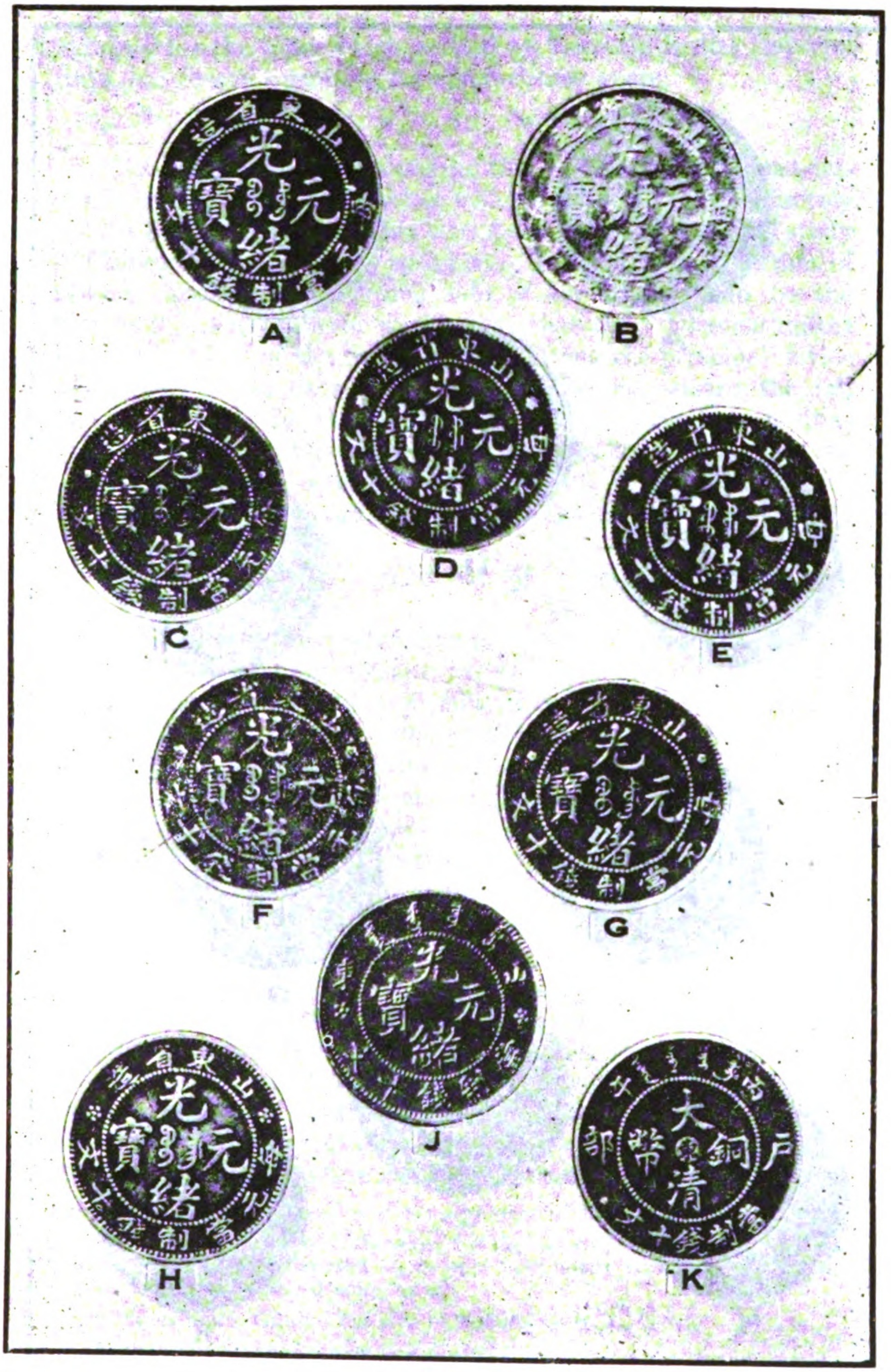

PLATE I

Types of obverses.

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A

B

D

C

E

F

G

J

H

K

PLATE II

Types of reverses

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rubbish, for the mint which existed at Tsinanfu in the Imperial days, has ceased operating for about fifteen years.

* * *

Before proceeding to describe the coins, it is of utmost importance to dwell upon a matter which has not yet been definitely settled amongst numismatists who make the collecting and study of Chinese minted coins a specialty. I refer to the question of obverse and reverse. Which side of the coin should be the reverse ?* A numismatic work† says that the "Obverse means the head or face of the coin ; the side having the principal device and generally the date ;" whilst the "Reverse means the tail or back of the coin, the less important side." Such authorities as Wylie, Bushell and Terrien de Lacouperie correctly denote the obverse as the side with the inscription on, in consonance with earlier native writers, and notwithstanding that they wrote mostly on ancient coins, still the side with 寶 光 緒 通, or the side which bore the *Chinese inscription* was correctly denoted the obverse. We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that despite any foreign lettering or legend on Chinese minted coins, such pieces remain nevertheless, a Chinese coin pure and simple, and on this ground alone the obverse remains that face of the coin where the Chinese inscription is placed and not the side showing the dragon, flags, effigy or any such types when combined with any foreign letters. Lockhart, in his catalogue, has followed this logical conclusion, and several local collectors of minted coins have also arranged their collections in like manner. As against these conclusions, Ramsden‡ and Ros§ describe the coins by denoting the side of the coin bearing foreign inscriptions as the obverse, and the Chinese inscription face as the reverse. The former was a mediocre collector of Chinese minted coins, but Ros is a specialist who cannot be overlooked ; we must concede to him for all time to come, the rightful claim to pioneer work and research, and the knowledge acquired by many years of study and collecting must place him in the fore ranks of Chinese numismatists. How-

* I solicit the readers' indulgence for the notes that follow. Unless the question is decidedly disposed of, it would obviously be impossible for me to refer to Chinese minted coins at all.

† Numismatic Guide 12th Ed. Providence, R. I., U.S.A.

‡ Modern Chinese Copper Coins, 1911.

§ Coins of the Republic of China. Journal N.C.B., Royal Asiatic Society, 1917.

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ever, readers will have observed from my former articles that I have adopted the view of earlier writers, basing my decision on the ground that in China, I must think like the Chinese, read like the Chinese, and write like the Chinese when at work on things Chinese.

* * *

In the coins of Shantung province, the Chinese inscriptions on the obverse mainly read in the centre 寶 光 緒 元, i.e., *Kwang Hsü Yuen Pao*, or Round currency (of the) Kwang Hsü (period). The seven characters 每元當制錢十文 (*Mei Yuen Dan Chi Chen Shih Wen*) read : Every round (is) equivalent (to) ten cash, and the five ideographs 當制錢十文 (*Dan Chi Chen Shih Wen*) meaning : Equivalent (to) ten cash. They are found at the bottom of the coins. The four characters 山東省造 (*Shantung Shun Tsoh*) usually found at the top, mean : Made (in) Shantung Province. The features of the reverses are principally, the different types of dragons, and in two instances (Reverses A and B) the name of the province is spelt SHANG-TUNG.

The principal characteristics by which each obverse is recognized, are, in :

Obverse A. The Manchu characters, and the rosettes at the sides which contain an inner circle.

Obverse B. The left hand side Manchu character terminates with a long tail, and the right side one ends in a sharp curve.

Obverse C. The rosettes are small, and the Manchu characters are altered.

Obverse D. The characters 光緒元寶 are different, and the Manchu characters are in very thin type.

Obverse E. Same as D, but the two side vertical strokes of the character 山 are shorter.

Obverse F. The Manchu characters are in very thick type, and the tail of the left hand side one ends in an acute curve. Medium rosettes at sides containing an inner circle.

Obverse G. The bottom of the left Manchu character is wider, and the characters are in thick type, the rosettes at the sides are small.

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Obverse H. Manchu characters again different, and the rosettes at sides are very large.

Obverse J. Four Manchu characters at the top, 東 山 at the sides.

Obverse K. 大清銅幣 in the centre.

All the obverses have other differences which contribute to readily distinguish them.

The reverses are most easily recognized by the following principal characteristics :—

Reverse A. The name of the province in roman letters is spelt SHANG-TUNG, there are seven dorsal spines on the dragon between the cloud nearest to the head, and the middle antennæ.

Reverse B. Same as A, but there are ten spines in the space already mentioned.

Reverse C. The province name is spelt SHANTUNG ; only four spines in the space above mentioned on the back of the dragon ; ornament near the tail ends horizontally.

Reverse D. Same as C, but the tail ornament ends vertically.

Reverse E. Province written SHANTUNG ; ten dorsal spines in the space already mentioned ; antennæ pointing to the right rosette.

Reverse F. Nine dorsal spines between first cloud and middle antennæ which points to the letter N ; comet at sides.

Reverse G. Seven dorsal spines in space above mentioned ; star at sides.

Reverse H. Upstanding dragon.

Reverse J. With legend TAI-CHING-TI-KUO COPPER COIN ; forehead of dragon small.

Reverse K. Same as J, but forehead of dragon thick and heavy.

All the above have other differences quite apparent to the expert.

It would be tedious to reiterate every detail of each obverse which exists in conjunction with the various reverses, and the following table of the combinations so far discovered, is self-explanatory. Reverse B is not found with any other obverse but

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B, which in turn is not found with any other reverse. Obverse H has not so far been found with any other reverse but F :—

TABLE SHOWING KNOWN COMBINATIONS

No.	Obverse		Reverse	Size m/m	Average weight grains	Comparative rarity*
1	A	with	A	28	108.803	C
2	B	,,	B	28	103.015	M.E.R.
3	C	,,	A	28	112.120	C
4	C	,,	D	28	114.325	M.E.R.
5	D	,,	A	28	111.503	R.R.
6	D	,,	C	28	111.194	S
7	D	,,	D	28	114.102	S
8	D	,,	E	28	114.726	R
9	E	,,	C	28	113.510	R
10	E	,,	E	28	114.050	R.R.
11	F	,,	C	28	112.120	E.R.
12	F	,,	D	28	114.127	E.R.
13	F	,,	E	28	115.115	C
14	F	,,	G	28	112.450	E.R.
15	G	,,	E	28	117.317	E.R.
16	G	,,	F	28.25	114.264	E.R.
17	H	,,	F	28	110.037	M.E.R.
18	J	,,	A	28	——	R.R.†
19	J	,,	E	28	111.118	R
20	J	,,	F	28	107.028	R.R.
21	J	,,	G	28	112.352	R.R.
22	J	,,	H	28	113.587	C
23	K	,,	J	28	114.204	C
24	K	,,	K	28	115.902	R.R.

Number one is found in copper and in sand-blast brass proof pieces ; it has a minor variety which consists of a dot between the Manchu characters in the middle of the obverse.

Number two is found in brass only ; it may safely be assumed that this is only a trial piece, it was 'discovered' only about three months ago.

Number three is found in copper and also in sand-blast brass proof pieces.

* The comparative rarity of the coins is expressed thus : C=common ; S=scarce ; R=rare ; R.R.=very rare ; E.R.= excessively rare ; M.E.R. =most excessively rare.

† H.A. Ramsden Modern Chinese Copper Coins, p. 24, No. 4. I have not seen this coin, and Ramsden does not give the weight.

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Number four and five are found only in copper; the former was discovered only a few weeks ago.

Number six is in copper, and has a sub-variety in the left hand star in the obverse, which consists of a star longer horizontally than vertically; it is a scarce variety.

Number seven exists in copper and in sand-blast brass proof pieces.

Numbers eight, nine, ten, eleven and twelve have so far been found only in copper.

Number thirteen has so far been discovered to have five sub-varieties, two of which may be termed S, and of which, one is similar to the sub-variety described under number six; it is easily recognized by its always clear and deep impressions; this number exists also in brass sand-blast proof state, and is R.R. in that condition.

Number fifteen and sixteen are coins 'discovered' during the present year, their existence was not heretofore suspected. All the varieties following number seven are known only in copper, with the exception of numbers thirteen and twenty-two which exist in brass sand-blast proofs. This latter number has four sub-varieties of obverses, the principal differences being in the ideograph 寶, and in the Manchu inscription; one of the sub-varieties can be classed R.

Number twenty-three has a minor variety of the dragon, the clouds of which differ; there exists also a sub-variety in the obverse, recognized by the altered lines of the Manchu characters; both sub-varieties of obverses are found in the two sub-varieties of reverses, thus making four combinations.

Number twenty-four is found in the two sub-varieties of obverses just mentioned.

* * *

In justice to Mr. Ros, to whom reference is made in connection with the question of obverse and reverse, a copy of the above article was sent to him and his criticism thereon solicited. It is with pleasure that his appreciated reply is appended. Disinterested criticism is always beneficial in that it acts as a great stepping stone in the solution of all problems. He says: "Concerning obverse and reverse of coins, it must be understood that all what I want, is to see a rule established, that all writers on Chinese modern coins may constantly follow. I think I have been somewhat misunderstood about the criterium on which my definition of

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obverse and reverse is founded. By no means I intend to consider the English legend as having more importance on a Chinese coin, than the Chinese inscription. This would be a very erroneous standpoint, and I would not like to see it attributed to me (A). The obverse is the side having the 'principal device,' as stated in the work quoted by you. Now don't you think that the dragon occuring on almost all of the modern coins is the 'principal device' (B)? From the artistic, technical and symbolical point of view, this seems to me beyond discussion. Collectors of old coins had no alternative in naming the obverse of the pieces they described, since most of these had the other face blank; but in my opinion, we are not bound to follow their lead when we come to describe modern issues which are of a quite different type from the old ones (C), though having kept the usual legend in four characters adopted since the time *nien-hao* was chosen by reigning Emperors.

"Though the Chinese legend may be sometime a *chef d'œuvre* of penmanship—as, e.g., on Chehkiang silver coins,—it is undoubtedly in the treatment of the dragon that the artists—both designer and engraver,—can better show their skill and ability (D); and it is the dragon that represents the *pons asinorum* of the forgers of coins. The dragon, symbol of Imperial Authority, and generally speaking, of the country itself under the Manchu rule, stands on the coins of China as the Eagle (E) or other symbols on the U.S. coins, as the figure of Liberty on French Republican c ins, or the Rising Sun on Japanese coins, after the banishment of the dragon from the obverses of the money of that Empire (F).

"On the other hand, the *value* of the coins, whenever it had been expressed on the old Chinese coins, appeared on their *reverse*; and the value of foreign coins is almost without exceptions, engraved on their reverse (G). This is quite in consonance with my definition of the *reverse* of Chinese modern coins.

"It is therefore with reluctance that I cannot accept your views about the opportunity or necessity of following the lead of earlier writers on Chinese coins—who were, however, quite right in their definition of obverse and reverse,—in describing modern coins.

"I propose to call obverse, the side of the coins on which the dragon or a figure (J)—as on the Ssûch'uan rupee—is engr ved. Where there is no dragon, the side on which the *nien-hao* is engraved is the obverse. In Turkistan pieces, the obverse is the side with the Chinese, the reverse, that with Turki legend" (K).

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A few words in comment of the above may have the advantage of thoroughly analyzing the matter.

A. Inasmuch as the work published by Ramsden was done in 1911, and the brochure by Ros published in 1917, this point can rightly be attributed to the former.

B. This work says also "*and generally the date,*" whilst the reverse means "*the less important side.*" In Chinese modern coins, the side with the dragon on never has the year date, it is always on the inscription side. Besides, in the Chinese inscription side we find not only the legends and year dates, but also the value in Chinese, the Manchurian inscription and the name of the issuing province, surely a face in a coin, which cannot be termed "*the less important side.*"

C. This decision is quite sound ; the only reason that should influence our decisions, are the relative importance of the two sides of the coins.

D. The question of the work of two mint hands, cannot be a factor to be taken into consideration when deciding such a question as the present one.

E. The eagle on American coins is not the principal device, and the side with this bird on, is always regarded as the reverse in the United States. The obverse is the side showing the head of Liberty or the Indian.

F. In old Japanese coins bearing the dragon it was on the side with the year date, legend and value in Japanese characters, this side was always termed the obverse, the reverse of which bore a risen sun, and when the dragon was subsequently eliminated, this risen sun took its place, but the obverse remained the same side as before, which goes to prove that neither the dragon nor the risen sun were the " principal device," but the whole design in combination with the various inscriptions.

G. On this point we are quite agreed. Apart from a few coins of Anhui, the dragon side, or reverse, invariably mentions the token value of Chinese coins,—in English, of course, the less important language.

H. This point is covered already by reply under C.

J. The obverse of a coin cannot be arbitrarily determined by a single, hard and fast rule, especially since it is obvious that the dragon side is not the principal side. In ancient coins, the dragon and phœnix side is always denoted the reverse.

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K. Here we are in complete accord. The Turki inscription side being in a foreign language, is surely less important than the Chinese inscription side which is the one looked at and understood by well nigh five hundred million of population. The English legend was considered of such little importance by the Chinese, that in some of the later republican issues, such lettering has been eliminated entirely.

The *pros* and *cons* having been so comprehensively compared, we now leave the reader to form his own conclusions.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

We are sure our readers will much appreciate the etching by Dr. Yetts, and will be glad to know an equally beautiful one is to be given in No. 5.

We have been asked to insert the following correction :— On p. 130, line 8, read " seventh century " for " eighth century."

Also, Father Mullie says :

La note de la page 190, du présent volume doit être lu comme suit : Cent sapèques représentent à Tch'ao-yang-hien 16 grandes sapèques. Or il y a seize têtes de collines à passer pour franchir la passe. De là le nom.

P. 190. Le premier mot doit être lu : gangga.

P. 191. *Note.*—Le *ts* doit être pris pour l'affricative palatale médiane à articulation apicale, dépourvu de sonorité.

Notes by Professor Giles.

The Trustees of the British Museum have been kind enough to present me with a copy of " An Index of Chinese Artists " whose works are represented in the sub-department of Oriental prints and drawings. It has been compiled by Mr. Waley, and I may say at once that it will be very useful to students who seek, as Mr. Binyon puts it in his preface, " the most accurate information available " about the Chinese artists in question. My present object, however, is to draw attention to a few errors in my " Chinese Pictorial Art " which Mr. Waley has been able to point out, and which will come in very handy when a 3rd edition is called for.

The first of these errors is on p. 69, twelfth line from foot, where I have " A.D. 780," which Mr. Waley rightly says should be 880.

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The second is a serious and at the same time a curious slip. On p. 87, line 11, I have transliterated the fairly common surname 解 *Hsieh* by its normal sound *chieh*. That is the serious part; the curious part is that in an article on "The Family Names," which appeared in Vol. XXI (1886) of the Journal of the N.-C. B.R.A.S., the word is correctly given, as also in my Chinese-English Dictionary, No. 1,515, and in my Biographical Dictionary, No. 727.

The third is on p. 107, line 16 from foot, where I have rendered 骨氣 by "anatomical strength." I am not for a moment going to say that this is the true meaning of the term; neither can I accept off-hand, without any proof, Mr. Waley's "design." Perhaps Mr. Arlington will have a shot at it.

The fourth is on p. 189, line 12 from foot, where I have lumped two painters together as "Hsü Huang," whereas I should have said Hsü Hsi and Huang Ch'üan. Luckily for the reader, both painters are given correctly in the body of the book and also in the Chinese index.

The fifth is on p. 196, and involves a bad mistranslation. Delete from "a picture of," line 17 from foot, to "Wu Tao-tzŭ," and insert after "celestial fire," line 14 from foot, "which completely outshone the work of Lu Lêng-chia and Wu Tao-tzŭ." Mr. Waley writes "Lu Lêng-ch'ieh," but I think the sound *ch'ieh* is only northern *patois*; *e.g.*, 茄 *ch'ieh* the brinjal, which is correctly read 嘉 *chia*, 伽 being read 茄, and therefore *chia*. In any case, *chia*, as given in Pictorial Art, p. 53, and also in the index, is the only sound suitable for transliteration from Sanscrit or Pali.

Mr. Waley himself has a good-sized table of *Errata* for so small a book; one of them, however, is unnecessary. We are told to read *Wên-ts'ung* on p. 65 for *Wen-tsung*, but in my copy the correction had already been made. The names of the painters throughout seem to be only approximately in alphabetical order; it is a pity they are not strictly so.

I have often had occasion to draw attention to sundry mistranslations and other inaccuracies which have fallen from Professor Parker's pen (see *The China Review*, Vol. XXII, pp. 552-556, Vol. XXV, pp. 280-290, etc.); but I am unable to remember such an unnecessary welter of inexactitudes as he has crowded into three "notes" on p. 64 of the present volume. Here they are:

"It is a remarkable thing that the character 惇 does not appear in Giles." It is No. 2,844 in my Dictionary, to which

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Professor Parker is alluding. A singular reason is given why I should have included this word; namely, that "Prince Tun was a well-known character in the Peking streets when Giles was there about 50 years ago (55 years all but a month, to be accurate)."

"Williams, and also Giles, does not give the character 嵇." I found it at once in Williams, and it stands as No. 4,117 in my Dictionary. Professor Parker evidently looked under the wrong Radical and adds that it is "a not uncommon 姓," though only thirteen individuals, distinguished enough to be mentioned in history, appear to have borne it. Professor Parker further makes 嵇 and 稽 interchangeable, imagining that both are read *chi*[1], which is far from being the case. Apart from the fact that K'ang Hsi says 嵇音奚, which settles the point in favour of *hsi*[1], it was to 嵇 that 奚康 Hsi K'ang's ancestors had for reasons of safety, changed their name, keeping, as usual in such cases, the sound while altering the written character. [*Chi*[1] for *hsi*[1] is a blunder I made twenty-four years ago in my Chinese Biographical Dictionary, wrongly writing 稽 for 嵇, No. 297. Owners please note; also that the second character should not be written with 禾, the 115th Radical, but with 米.]

鮭 is one of the many thousand characters omitted from my Dictionary by force of circumstances. I don't see that Professor Parker's "possibly sturgeon" has any higher claim than my "minnow." Hamlet suggested "whale;" let us leave it at that, merely adding that the sentence of which Professor Parker complains was not meant to be Hsün Tzŭ's text but a phrase based on the text, as found in literature.

Professor Parker's suggestion that the fair long necks of the girls were "as though girdled tight" instead of "like the gazelle," as I put it, leaves me icy.

Finally, I have to thank Professor Parker for the error under 10,814, which I shall make no attempt to explain. I am always grateful for corrections, though I do object to being sent on wild-goose chases. Time is very valuable to me, and I have so little of it left.

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SOME QUESTIONS

BY

E. T. C. WERNER,
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Herbert Spencer's nervous system was of so refined a nature that it responded to stimuli which left grosser systems unaffected. It was like a delicately-poised electrometer. Even the flapping of a butterfly's wings annoyed him. Though he accomplished a work "unexampled in the history of human thought" he could not work in the afternoon for fear of insomnia at night. During his afternoon drives with young friends he would put to them questions not to be answered without thought—such as "Why does a duck waddle in walking?" or "How is it possible for a lark, while soaring, to sing for several minutes without cessation?" or "Why have sheep and rabbits their eyes on the sides of their heads, while cats and dogs have their eyes nearly in front?" —in order that loquaciousness might be checked. He did not supply the answers, his purpose being that his questionees "might exercise their reasoning powers."

The questions given below are tests rather of a general knowledge of things Chinese than of ability to arrive at correct solutions by the exercise of the reasoning faculties. Yet, since self-examination is self-help, benefit may, I think, accrue from attempts to answer questions of this kind—something between the really puzzling problems of sinology on the one hand and such questions as "Why is there no market for pince-nez among the Chinese?" on the other—without consulting teachers or books.

Why is a letter called a "foot-tablet" 尺牘?

Why is a railway platform called a "moon terrace" 月臺?

Who were the "Perpendicular Unionists" and the "Horizontal Unionists?"

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What was the origin of the division of books into 上, 中, and 下?

Who predicted the "speedy appearance of a shining cross on every hill in China," and when?

Who was the "bald-headed black orphan?"

Which Chinese said that "peace would prevail in China when civil officials are no longer greedy of money and military officials no longer fear death?"

Why were birds' nests not eaten in China before the Manchu Period?

How many persons composed the 四岳?

Why is the first month of the year called 正月?

Were 羲 and 和 one or more persons?

Where was the 馬八兒 State?

How was it that the recent Board of Revenue had its origin in the early office of the Minister of Instruction?

Why is a modern Province designated a "watch" 省?

Why is Lü Tung-pin, one of the Eight Immortals, worshipped by the fraternity of barbers?

Who were the 相?

Why is a pair of trousers sometimes suspended over the door of the bride's chair in marriage processions?

Which is the most extensively worshipped deity in China?

Which character with its radical has fewer strokes than its radical in its full form?

Why was cloth used as a medium of exchange in the earliest times?

What was clapping of hands a sign of until recently in China?

Why do the Chinese popularly call a month a month-day?

What was the origin of the 斜 outside old yamêns?

What was the origin of the name 交民巷, usually known as "Legation Street" (Peking)? (*N.B.*—It does *not* mean "Street of Intercourse with the People").

Many more might be given, but my object here is rather to hold out these few as a bait to induce other workers in the same fascinating field to propound their sinological conundrums.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Chinese Grammar Self-Taught, by John Darroch, Litt. D.; London, Marlborough & Co.

"The grammar of a language treats of the forms its words assume, and of the ways in which they are used for the expression of thought." There must therefore be such a thing as Chinese grammar, though the Chinese themselves never dreamt of such a thing till the Westerners came and told them.

How far it is *desirable* to study Chinese by the help of Western grammar is one thing; how far it is *possible* is yet another—since of most of our time-honoured grammatical divisions Chinese is utterly innocent. There can be no Orthography, where there is no alphabet; nor Orthoepy, where the pronunciation changes from province to province and from district to district; nor Etymology, where no derivations can be given; nor Accidence, where tense, number, etc., are largely ignored, and almost any word can be any part of speech; and though Syntax and Prosody have their place in Chinese, the rules are so utterly alien to ours, that comparison is well-nigh impossible. Yet it is a fascinating thing to see how the Chinese mind, in seeking expression for its thought, meets the problems which the Westerners have solved by means of a complex grammar; and here is a gallant attempt to show us how it has been done.

The book is a companion to the author's earlier "Chinese Self-taught," and as such should be considered. It is also one of a well-known series; and though we are quite ignorant of Serbo-Croatian, Gujurati, and a good many other of the languages, manuals of which are provided by the enterprise of Messrs. Marlborough & Co., we feel sure that not one of the compilers had a more formidable task than Dr. Darroch; in fact, no one could have a harder, except the adventurer who may try to learn alone this Chinese grammar. We pity him, unless he has already been through the earlier work and got somewhat used to the my-

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stifying Chinese character and terrifying romanization—for the book is in addition none too well arranged. The commoner radicals, indeed, are printed in capitals; but this is almost the only attempt to distinguish the more from the less important, and the self-teaching sufferer will not know how to pick and choose.

The author has wisely confined himself to the written mandarin colloquial; but even thus (as indeed in all grammars we have ever come across) the language is made to appear more difficult than it is. We happen to be able to speak and read Chinese, but as we study these pages we feel a new respect for ourselves: surely we were cleverer than we knew!

We greatly admire Dr. Darroch's ingenuity and thoroughness. It is true that on nearly every page there is something we would challenge; but what of that? The subject is *Chinese*; and over it the same couple of sinologues will wrangle decade after decade, if not without loss of temper, yet apparently without loss of face, while the lesser fry, down to the students in the "Language Schools," disagree unceasingly. So no one will be surprised if, *e.g.*, we ask, "Who said 自己 was to be used in the singular number only?" (p. 81), or if we say, "Why, if 們 is given as the sign of the plural for pronouns, is it not acknowledged (p. 34) as a plural form for nouns denoting persons? Surely 先生們, 兄弟們, etc., are common forms enough?"

But alas! it is not only the Chinese we disagree with: sometimes we do not agree with the grammar. On p. 79 the learned doctor was surely nodding, when he gave the verb *to be* an object!

Again, we cannot accept the statement made (p. 48) about adverbs and adjectives. That an adjective follows its noun does not transform it into an adverb; if I say "Boys all have mischief," surely *all* is not an adverb here? Yet on p. 86, in the sentence 人皆有兄弟我獨無, we are told that *giai* (皆) is an adverb modifying the verb 有.

Once more, we are told (on p.79) that 的 is a relative pronoun in 有一個姓王的來了, which is translated "A man who is named Wang has come." It is true that the sentence *may be so translated*, if we put in the noun "man;" but would it not be more helpful to show that this is a case of the use of 的 as a particle having the power of making any phrase into a noun? The sentence really means "There is a named-Wang-one, etc.," and the 的 is really this "one," changing "named Wang" into a noun. (Where the verb involved is in the active voice, we in English should express the same thing by the suffix "-er,"

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—thus, where a Chinese says "the keep-gate-one," we should say "the gatekeeper.")

We noticed with especial care Chap. XXIV on "Compound Verbs." These are in our view one of the most important parts of the colloquial, and much more might well have been made of them—perhaps by a list showing the force of the various auxiliaries. He who can master these and use them correctly is, we think, on a way to the niceties of the spoken language. He will know, *e.g.*, the difference between 這個飯我吃不上來 and 這個飯我吃不下去; and will have found his way to the right use of 看不見, 看不起, 看不開, 看不明白, 看不得, 看不出來, etc.

But doubtless everyone will wish *his* pet ideas had been emphasized by Dr. Darroch, just as everyone wants his favourite poems in an anthology. Without controversy, a tremendous amount of information has been got together between the covers of this little book, and if other Chinese speakers find themselves disagreeing with it and each other over some of its statements—*tant mieux*: the book will act as a tonic. We have a vivid recollection of seeing that finished and eloquent speaker and preacher, the late Dr. Calvin Mateer, taking down fresh phrases in his note-book, long years after his excellent "Mandarin Lessons" had been given to the world; yet how many of us lesser folk are content to remain just moderately good speakers of Chinese!

* * *

The Chinese Family System. By Sing Ging Su, M.A., PH. D. International Press, New York City, 1922, pp. 112.

Sociological studies of Chinese society by Chinese students are becoming numerous, and the present work will take a worthy place among them. Doctor Su (or is it Sing? Impossible to tell from the title page) has put us much in his debt by a careful and clear analysis of the facts, historically considered, and fully documented. In particular we would commend his minimum of desire to exalt Chinese culture at the expense of Western; a fact which by itself shows the progress which Chinese students are making in attaining the proper scientific spirit for the prosecution of their studies. But if we may be permitted to suggest it, the entire treatment errs by being rather too bookish, and not sufficiently based on the facts of actual life. For the treatment of past ages this may be excusable, but hardly for the chapters which treat of the Chinese family system of to-day and which occupy the larger part of the work. For example the references to concubin-

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age, a most important part of the system, are most casual. Fewer references to the Provisional Civil Code and more examples (from newspapers and magazines and personal knowledge) of the actual state of family life would have been acceptable and would have added notably to the value of the work.

We have to note, as in similar previous cases, the absence of the Chinese ideograph in references, not to speak of quotations. When will the American publisher come to the point of furnishing bilingual fonts for works on China, as is done in England and on the Continent ? Not till then will such works cease to exasperate the student, especially when they are learned scientific studies. At that the author has not been as careful as he might have been. For example, on p. 13 and elsewhere he refers to Westermarck's " History of Human Marriage, " but does not name the edition. On p. 61 he translates a Chinese proverb, and in the appended note refers to Giles' Dictionary, but not by number ! For the would-be verifier, there results a fine problem in retranslation. We hope for the day when it will not be needful to speak, in a review, of small matters of this sort.

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China, the United States and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance
pp. 176. *The Chino-Japanese Treaties of May* 25, 1915.
pp. 151. *The Twenty-one Demands*: *Japan versus China*.
pp. 178. By G. Zay Wood, formerly editor of " The Far Eastern Republic," etc., Fleming H. Revell Company. Each vol. $2.00.

This is a useful set of books. It cannot be regarded, however, as sober history, but rather as national propaganda. It is but one step above the political pamphlet ; the writer's motive is strongly and plainly patriotic, but from the point of view of the internationalist, his production is a skilful *ex parte* statement and no more. Imbedded in his account will be found a fairly complete statement of the facts with which he is dealing, but it requires a wider knowledge and a more impartial spirit than the author possesses (or manifests) to separate fact from argument, and to complete his tale with the facts of human weakness or chicanery which he omits. Nevertheless, the work was worth doing, for we may be sure that the case for China is stated as skilfully as it can be stated and that until Japan has answered the very effective arguments which are here put forth, instead of evading them as she has largely done hitherto, the presumption is that the case for China wins.

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We are sorry to note that the proof-reading is not all it should be, and that there are numerous small errors of fact—and of grammar. It is rather astonishing that such a firm as Revell should publish works with grammatical errors and rhetorical crudities such as we find here; and we would urge the author in future publications to enlist the friendly services of a foreigner to remove these small blemishes. They attract an undue amount of attention, and are apt to prejudice the neutral or unfriendly reader against the argument of the work.

The most useful feature of the whole is the Appendices, which occupy nearly a third of the whole space. Here are the texts of treaties, agreements, official statements, etc., a most convenient and complete collection, for either the special or the general student.

* * *

Körösi Csoma-Archivum. (Published twice a year at Budapest).

That optimistic incurable and incurable optimist, Robert Louis Stevenson, once said that he "had no opinion of a man who would not wind up his watch on a sinking ship;" and we have been reminded of this great saying as we have examined the three numbers of the above publication lately sent to us for review.

Of all the participators in the Great Disaster of 1914-1918, surely not one was more innocent, more unwilling to make war, more chivalrous in her fighting, than Hungary; yet she who in the 14th century was "the most formidable state in Europe," now finds herself "an island in a sea of Slavs," her territories of a thousand years reduced by two-thirds and most of her raw material and much other wealth snatched from her. Living costs 100 per cent. more than in 1914; and the warring of Royalist and Republican factions fills the political world.

Yet in spite of all this, scientific and artistic activities are maintained; and the "Körösi Csoma Society," of which the above is the organ, has been lately formed for the study of that part of Oriental history and culture which is of special interest to the Hungarians, having regard to their origin, history, and geographical position. The first article of the first number (Ap. 1921) fitly deals with that great traveller and philologist Körösi Csoma Sandór, whose name has been given to the new Society and magazine, and who during the earlier part of the 19th century travelled far and wide over Central Asia to substantiate his theory that the Magyars and their language originated in Tibet. His theory had to

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be given up, but his grammar and dictionary of Tibetan published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1834, have procured for him a lasting name. He died at Darjeeling in 1842 and the Society (of which he was the Librarian in Calcutta at the time of his death) erected a monument over his tomb; thus showing the British interest in Hungarian explorers still happily continued in the case of his distinguished and accomplished compatriot, Sir Aurel Stein.

The scope of this review may be judged from the facts that these three numbers give us matter in Magyar, French, German and English, and that we are promised information on all relevant important publications appearing in Russian, Finnish and Turkish. The nature of the contents may be seen from the name of the longer articles, which it would be beyond our scope to review in detail. In German there are important articles on "The Anatolian Poets in the Time of the Seljuks," with extracts; "Turco-Byzantine Miscellanies;" "Our Knowledge of the Petschenegs;" an article on the Scythians as they are treated of in the Hungarian histories, etc., in French we have "The Hungarian Scientific Institute of Constantinople;" "The Journey of Sallâm to the Wall of Gog and Magog" (arguing against the identity of this with the Great Wall of China); and "Abdullah Tokaï, a modern Tartar poet."

Dr. B. Laufer writes in English on the Jurci and Mongol numerals, and there are in the four languages reviews of new books, a notable one for us being that on Erke's "China" and "Chinesen," in German.

We hope to give in a later issue a translation of an article bearing on Chinese art—"Spontaneität," by Z. v. Takâcs,—with which we have been favoured by the learned author.

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